

A stylistic analysis of the development of  
literary Persian and Turkish as seen in  
versions of Kalīla wa-Dimna, the fables of Bidpay

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## ABSTRACT

It has long been recognized that literary Persian and Turkish developed from stylistically simple beginnings and reached their zenith during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries A.D., after which time both gradually became less ornate while maintaining many of the distinctive features of their Golden Age. This study, based upon a close reading of four Persian and four Turkish prose versions of Kalīla wa-Dimna, the fables of Bidpay, compares and contrasts each author's use of such rhetorical and stylistic elements as sac, simile, metaphor, narrative pace, arrangement of tales and inclusion of poetry, proverbs and religious quotations. By thus exploring in detail each writer's treatment of equivalent passages, this thesis for the first time enables us to draw specific conclusions about the stylistic development of the two literary languages and to pinpoint the influence exerted by Persian over Turkish.

The appendix to the thesis includes an edition of part of a hitherto unrecognized Persian translation of 'Abdullāh b. al-Mukāffa's Arabic Kalīla wa-Dimna. This unadorned Persian prose rendering by Moḥammad b. 'Abdollāh al-Boḥārī, dedicated to Sayf ad-Dīn Ġāzī b. 'Imād ad-Dīn Zangī b. Aḳ Sonḳor (541/1146-544/1149) of Mosul, is a unicum dated Šafar 544 / June 1149, thus making it the earliest extant manuscript of Kalīla wa-Dimna in any of the Islamic languages, including Arabic. The work is, therefore, of great value as an example of early Persian provincial prose, as an indicator of the literary sophistication of the Atabeg court for whom it was written and as a potential means of more closely determining the nature of Ibn Mukāffa's own text which has become seriously corrupted over the centuries.



~~For~~ For my parents  
to whose constant encouragement  
and support this thesis owes its  
existence

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## FOREWORD

This thesis concerns itself with the stylistic development of literary Persian and Western (i.e. Ottoman or Anatolian) Turkish and does not attempt to draw conclusions about the Turkish of any other region, although many of the deductions about Western Turkish may be applicable elsewhere.

Kul Mes'ūd is included here as an early Ottoman author since, although he wrote for one of the many minor courts which proliferated immediately prior to the rise of the Ottomans, he may be considered a forerunner of the distinctive literary traditions which began to develop before the advent of Ottoman political supremacy.

Research for this thesis has concentrated mainly on the Chapter of the Lion and the Bull which, as it features the two jackals Kalīla and Dimna, from whom the work takes its name, is often considered to be the major one. The majority of the examples cited in the text are taken from this chapter.

The standards for spelling and vocalization will be (except when they are clearly in error) those given in the Persian-English Dictionary by F. Steingass and A Turkish and English Lexicon by Sir James Redhouse.

In quotations and in the edition of Kalīla va Dimna in Appendix C, uncertain readings are indicated by round brackets ( ), and additions or amendments to the text by square brackets [ ].

The transcription 'Kalīla wa-Dimna' has been used whenever reference was made to the collection of tales in general; titles of specific versions have been transcribed according to their language.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Abu            Abū Fażl ‘Allāmī, ‘Iyar-i Danis. Cawnpore, 1879.
- Actes           Hermann Ethé, 'On some hitherto unknown Turkish versions of Kalilah and Dimnah'. Actes du sixième Congrès international des Orientalistes. Leiden, 1885.
- Ali            ‘Ali b. Şālih (‘Ali Çelebi), Hümāyūn-nāma. Istanbul, 1293 kamari.
- Alp            Selâhaddin Alpay, Kelile ve Dimne. Istanbul, 1972.
- Aumer           J.A. Aumer, Die arabischen und persischen Handschriften der Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München. Munich, 1886.
- Az            ‘Abdullāh b. al-Mukāffa‘, Kalīla wa-Dimna, ed. ‘Abdu ‘l-Wahhāb ‘Azzām. Cairo, 1941.
- BSO(A)S       Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies, University of London.
- By            Theodor Benfy, Pantschatantra. Leipzig, 1859.
- Ch            ‘Abdullāh b. al-Mukāffa‘, Kalīla wa-Dimna, ed. Louis Cheikho. Beirut, 1905, 1923.
- Chapman       Raymond Chapman, Linguistics and Literature. London, 1973; 1974.
- CPL            A.J. Arberry, Classical Persian Literature. London, 1958, 1967.
- Doğ            Ömer Rıza Doğrul, Kelile ve Dimne. Istanbul, 1957.

- DBKD      Mohammad Ca'far Maḥcūb, Dar bāra-yi Kalīla va Dimna.  
Tehran, 1336, 1349 şamsī.
- East      Edward B. Eastwick, tr., The Anvār-i Suhailī, or the  
Lights of Canopus. Hertford, 1854.
- Edg      Franklin Edgerton, The Panchatantra Reconstructed.  
New Haven, Conn., 1924.
- EI, EI<sup>2</sup>      Encyclopeadia of Islam, first and second editions.
- Fleischer      H.E. Fleischer, Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum  
orientalium Bibliothecae Regiae Dresdensis.  
Leipzig, 1831.
- Gui      Ignazio Guidi, Studii sul testo arabo del Libro di  
Calila e Dimna. Rome, 1873.
- Ḥaṭībī      Ḥosayn Ḥaṭībī, Tārīḥ-i Tatavvor-i Nasr-i Fannī.  
Tehran, 1334 şamsī.
- Hertel      J. Hertel, Das Pañcatantra, seine Geschichte und  
seine Verbreitung. Leipzig and Berlin, 1914.
- İA      İslam Ansiklopidesi.
- JRAS      Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- Kas      Ḥosayn Vā'iz Kāşifī, Anvār-i Sohaylī. Amīr Kabīr  
Press, Tehran, 1336 şamsī.
- KF      I.G.N. Keith-Falconer, Kalilah and Dimnah, or the  
Fables of Bidpai. Cambridge, 1885.
- Kna      William Knatchbull, Kalila and Dimna, or the Fables  
of Bidpai. Oxford, 1819.

- Kul Kul Mes'ūd, Kelīle ve Dimne. Bodleian Library, Marsh 180. N.B. In the text of the thesis this abbreviation stands for KulZ.
- KulZ Kul Mes'ūd, Kelīle ve Dimne, ed. Ananjasz Zajaczkowski. Crakow, 1934.
- KZ Hācī Halīfa, Keşfü 'z-Zunūn, ed. Şerefettin Yaltkaya and Kilisli Rifat Bilge. Istanbul, 1943.
- LHP E.G. Browne, A Literary History of Persia. London, 1902-6.
- LN Loğat-nāma-yi Dihhodā. Tehran.
- Marz Sa'do 'd-Dīn Varāvīnī, Marzobān-nāma, ed. Kazvīnī. London, 1909.
- Mid Ahmed Midhat Efendi, Hulāsa-yı Humāyūn-nāma. Istanbul, 1304 kamari.
- Mo Moḥammad Mo'in, Farhang-i Fārsī. Tehran, 1347 şamsī.
- Mus 'Abdullāh b. al-Mukāffa', Kalīla wa-Dimna, ed. Muştafā Latīfi 'l-Manfalūṭī. Beirut, 1966.
- NasA Abū Ma'ālī Naşrollāh, Kalīla va Dimna-yi Bahrāmşāhī, ed. Hasan Hasanzāda Āmolī. Tehran, 1341 (?) şamsī.
- NasG Abū Ma'ālī Naşrollāh, Kalīla va Dimna-yi Bahrāmşāhī, ed. 'Abdo 'l-'Azīm Hān Garakānī (Karīb). Tehran, 1307 şamsī.
- NasK Abū Ma'ālī Naşrollāh, Kalīla va Dimna-yi Bahrāmşāhī, ed. 'Abdo 'l-'Azīm Karīb (Hān Garakānī). Tehran, 1347 şamsī.

- NasM      Abū Ma‘ālī Naṣrollāh, Kalīla va Dimna-yi Bahrāmshāhī,  
ed. Moctabā Mīnovī Tīhrānī. Tehran, 1343 ʕamsī.
- Notices      Sylvestre de Sacy, various articles in Notices et  
Extraits des Manuscrits, vv. IX, X. Paris, 1817-18.
- Ocean      Tawney-Penzer, The Ocean of Story, v.5. London,  
1926.
- Osm      Ahmed ‘Osmānzāda Tā‘ib Efendi, Semār ül-Esmār.  
Istanbul, 1251 ʕamārī.
- Pertsch      L.C.W. Pertsch, Die orientalischen Handschriften der  
Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha. Vienna, 1864.
- PTHP      Hermann Ethé, Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish,  
Hindūstānī, and Pushtū Manuscripts in the Bodleian  
Library. Oxford, 1930.
- Rieu      Charles Rieu, Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts  
in the British Museum. London, 1881.
- Rh      Sir James Redhouse, A Turkish and English Lexicon.  
Istanbul, 1923; Beirut, 1974.
- Rypka      Jan Rypka, History of Iranian Literature. Dordrecht,  
Holland, 1968.
- Sabk      Maliko‘ṣ-Ṣo‘arā Bahār, Sabk Ṣināsī. Tehran, 1321  
ʕamsī.
- Sad      ‘Abdullāh b. al-Mukāffa‘, Kalīla wa-Dimna, ed. S.I.  
Ṣādir and Ṣ. ‘Aṭīya. Beirut, 1905, 1923.
- St      F. Steingass, Persian-English Dictionary. London,  
1892, 1930; Beirut, 1970.

- Syl           ‘Abdullāh b. al-Mukāffa’, Kalīla wa-Dimna, ed.  
Sylvestre de Sacy. Paris, 1816.
- TM            Türkiyat Mecmuası.
- Vassaf       Vaṣṣāf, Tārīh-i Vassāf. Bombay, 1261; Tehran, 1338  
ṣamsī.
- Wol           Arthur N. Wollaston, tr., The Anwār-i-Suhailī or  
Lights of Canopus. London, 1904.
- Zan           Moḥammad b. ‘Abdollāh al-Boḥārī, Kalīla va Dimna.  
Topkapı Library, Yeni Yazmalar no. 777.
- ZanG       ~~Moḥammad b. ‘Abdollāh al-Boḥārī, Kalīla va Dimna,~~  
~~ed. James N. Gehlhar. Appendix to this thesis.~~
- ZDMG       Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen  
Gesellschaft.



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## INTRODUCTION

It is accepted that modern literary Persian found its earliest development during the ninth century A.D. in the court of the Sāmānids, from which origins it developed rapidly, producing within a period of two centuries such great figures as Bal‘amī, Rūdakī, Dakīkī, Firdausī, Minūçihri, Sanā‘ī, ‘Onsūrī, Farroḥī and others. It was during this period, too, that the rules of Persian metrics were elaborated in that form which has remained largely unchanged to the present day.

Throughout this phase of its development, and for long afterwards, the influence of the Arabic language and Arabic literature has always been observable, the tendency being, in fact, to give an increasing prominence to the lexical and cultural content of both. Arabic terms and expressions became standard embellishments in much of Persian literature, and remained so long after they had become obsolete or archaic in Arabic itself.

Literary Ottoman Turkish also owes its origins to the dominant cultural and learned languages of its earliest period and, like Persian, was to find its development through a steady incorporation of elements particular to the two languages concerned, with Arabic providing the basis for works of a religious or instructive nature and Persian furnishing the model for literary efforts.

On the basis of this view of the linguistic development of Persian and Turkish as literary languages, a stylistic investigation of works of Persian and Turkish literature from various periods should produce a wealth of evidence to establish the

migration of ideas and forms from language to language and writer to writer. Because of this constant literary exchange and the fluctuations in the nature of subjects which were in vogue at any one time, it is difficult to find the literary equivalent of a constant upon which a stylistic study may be based and the data judged.

In the fables of Bīdpāy, however, we are fortunate in having just such a literary constant, it being a work which has retained its popularity for more than a thousand years and which is still read today - and not only in the East. There are, indeed, very few written languages which cannot show at least one version of these tales.

As for the Islamic languages, Ibn Mukaffa's eighth century Arabic translation from the Pahlavi found an immediate acceptance and was to inspire numerous versifications in Arabic, as well as many prose and verse translations into Persian and Turkish. For centuries Kalīla wa-Dimna has been standard reading in classrooms throughout the Muslim world.

The reasons for Kalīla wa-Dimna's lasting popularity among Muslims are manifold. Firstly, these cautionary tales extol unquestionable moral virtues, containing advice deemed excellent for helping the young to shape their future lives. Secondly, Ibn Mukaffa' imbued the tales with a religious character by including numerous references to the Kur'ān and the ḥadīth, but yet did not carry this so far as to make the book seem didactic and stifling. Later translators and versifiers were to carry on in essentially the same manner. Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, Bīdpāy's fables are eminently re-tellable, being both entertaining and

memorable. Indeed, many lines from Kalīla wa-Dimna have become proverbs that are now current in Arabic, Persian and Turkish.

It was this wide appeal which was to produce the numerous versions of these tales in Muslim languages; many monarchs, statesmen and other patrons of literature commissioned or encouraged fresh translations or versifications by some of the most noted literary figures of their day. New versions are known to have been completed under the Abbasids, the Barmakids, the Zangid Atabegs, the Aydın Oğlu Turks, the Timurids, the Ottomans and the Moghuls of India.

Thus the comparative study of stylistics in Islamic literatures has in Kalīla wa-Dimna a unique work, the tales of which have never lost their popular appeal and have always been considered worth the re-telling in the current idiom by the finest writers of the day. Kalīla wa-Dimna leads us through centuries of stylistic development in Persian and Turkish literature, showing what each age regarded as the mode proper to itself.

The topic of style in language is one which has attracted the interest of numerous cultures in both West and East for a period of many centuries; it is natural that this should be so among a people or class for whom literature and oration occupy a central position in their lives and to whom skill in writing and speaking can be a source of great pride. Style in this regard is closely related to rhetoric, but while rhetoric seeks to generalize about the techniques whereby language can be adapted to the purposes at hand, style enlarges the range and variety of these purposes, thereby contributing to the expansion of rhetoric. Rhetoric makes deductions from approved examples of the use of language, but

it is through style that these examples are originally provided.

In the West the study of rhetoric has been both descriptive and prescriptive, in the latter aspect forming a part of legal pleading. In Islam, however, it was only as a descriptive science that 'ilm al-balāḡa' was studied, and being thus limited it tended to encourage imitation rather than stimulate innovation. This was to have an inhibiting influence on stylistic invention and contribute to the uniformity observable in most genres of literary composition.

From an early date, translations of Aristotle's Poetics and Rhetoric were available to Muslim scholars, though the first originally Arabic work entirely concerned with balāḡa was the Kitāb al-Badī', written by Ibn al-Mu'tazz in 265/877-8.<sup>(1)</sup> This work sought to justify contemporary literary usages on the basis of precedents in the Kur'ān and in classical poetry. During the following fifty years Kudāma b. Ca'far in his Nakd as-Si'r examined poetry from the aspect of balāḡa and attempted to set standards for the analysis of poetry.<sup>(2)</sup> In later centuries such figures as Curcānī, Sakkākī, al-Ḳazwīnī and at-Taftazānī in Arabic and Šams-i Ḳays in Persian further developed the sciences of bayān and ma'ānī, writing works which became standards in the field and continue to be read today.

In addition to balāḡa, Islamic scholars concerned themselves

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- (1) 'Abdullāh b. al-Mu'tazz, Kitāb al-Badī', ed. I. Kratchkovsky. London, 1935.
- (2) Kudāma b. Ca'far al-Kātib al-Baḡdādī, Kitāb Nakd as-Si'r ed. S.A. Bonebakker. Leiden, 1956.

with insa', official correspondence and polite epistolography. Although Arabic, Persian and Turkish books on the subject abound, they are for the most part anthologies of letters written in exemplary style by, for or to great statesmen, with hardly any attempt ever being made to study those elements which constitute good insā' style. Instead, instruction was almost exclusively by example.

'Ilm al-balāḡa and 'ilm al-insā' thus dealt widely with examples of accepted perfection in poetry, and of the composition of threatening or cajoling letters, but neither really dealt with the problem of prose style. It seems that until this century hardly anyone in the Middle East felt the need for the examination of the art of prose composition. In Iran, for example, the first native Iranian to treat the subject was Maliko ṣ-Ṣo'arā Bahār whose Sabk Ṣināsī was published in 1942.<sup>(1)</sup> Since that landmark publication several works have appeared in Persian, including Hosayn Haṭībī's Tārīḥ-i Tatavvor-i Nasr-i Fannī which concentrates on Persian literature in the sixth and seventh Islamic centuries.<sup>(2)</sup>

Although style has long been studied in the West, here as well it has only been during the past one hundred years that the examination of style in literature has come into its own, with such figures as Max Müller dominating the entire field of language study in the late nineteenth century and for the first time treating language as an isolatable phenomenon. During the first quarter of the present century Ferdinand de Saussure, E. Sapir

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(1) Sabk. Tehran, 1321 ṣamsī.

(2) Tehran, 1334 ṣamsī.

and, slightly later, Leonard Bloomfield, made great strides towards establishing linguistics as a discipline and giving the literary world a greater knowledge of the basic materials of its craft.<sup>(1)</sup> Since those uncertain early days the study of linguistics has progressed rapidly and expanded into a wide variety of related fields.

During the same period, the methodical study of style in literature has been established and furthered by H.W. and F.G. Fowler, Arthur T. Quiller-Couch and I.A. Richards in 1906, 1916 and 1924 respectively, and more recently by René Wellek and S. Ullman.<sup>(2)</sup> While the first two wrote works which are prescriptive in nature - and therefore relatively narrow in outlook - the remaining three authors deal with the much broader subject of literary criticism.

For many years these related disciplines of linguistics and literary criticism developed along their parallel but separate paths with little communication between them; linguists in

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- (1) Ferdinand de Saussure, Cours de Linguistique Générale. Paris, 1916; (English translation) Course in General Linguistics. London, 1960. E. Sapir, Language. New York, 1921. Leonard Bloomfield, Language. London, 1935, 1950.
- (2) H.W. and F.G. Fowler, The King's English. Oxford, 1906. Arthur T. Quiller-Couch, The Art of Writing. Cambridge, 1916. I.A. Richards, Principles of Literary Criticism. London, 1924. René Wellek, Concepts of Criticism. New Haven, Conn., 1963. ----, Discriminations. New Haven, Conn., 1970. Stephen Ullman, Semantics. Oxford, 1962, 1970. ----, Language and Style. Oxford, 1964. ----, Meaning and Style. Oxford, 1973.



general refused to accept that the language of literature could be anything but artificial and contrived. Gradually, however, increasing numbers of linguists have come to recognize that literature is as valid a form of language as any other and that it is unique in offering a wealth of material for historical analysis.

That linguistics and literary criticism both have much to gain from joint efforts and interchange of ideas is the theme of Linguistics and Style<sup>by Nils Erik Enkvist</sup> and of Linguistics and Literature by Raymond Chapman, published in 1964 and 1973 respectively. (1)

Both works develop the subject of literary stylistics, demonstrating how the analytical techniques of linguistics when applied to literary criticism can provide a precision hitherto impossible, and how literature contains a vast storehouse of raw material spanning many centuries and cultures. Neither discipline, furthermore, need feel threatened or demeaned by co-operation with the other, as each has its specific and valuable rôle.

It is the intention of this thesis to apply some of the techniques of literary stylistics to Persian and Turkish prose renderings of Kalīla wa-Dimna in order to draw conclusions about the way in which the literary style of those languages developed during the long period encompassed by these works. The language represented in each work is, in general, far removed from that spoken in the bazaars of the time; it is rather the high style of

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- (1) Nils Erik Enkvist, John Spencer and Michael J. Gregory, Linguistics and Style, London, 1964, 1971. Raymond Chapman, Linguistics and Literature, London, 1973; 1974.

the educated classes. Six of these versions, indeed, were produced explicitly for the court and with royal patronage and encouragement. The exclusiveness of the language is most apparent in the Persian Anvār-i Sohaylī of Hosayn Vā'iz Kāshifī and the Turkish Hümāyūn-nāma of 'Alī Çelebi, for each of these works is so esoteric in nature that only those people with a thorough grounding in Arabic and Persian - and in the case of the latter work Turkish - classics could comprehend or appreciate it.

Before one can set about studying 'style' or 'stylistic development' at any level, it is necessary to have a suitable definition of style itself. For the purposes of this research, style may be defined as the conscious use of the features of language to evoke in the reader the desired response to thoughts or feelings. Furthermore, style is that quality of a work of art which sets it off from all others of its kind, marking it as individual and out of the ordinary. It is thus that each of the works discussed here has a style which reflects the cultural level of the author as well as that of the audience he addresses.

The range of devices available to an author who shares with his readers a high level of sophistication is far greater than that which an uncultured writer may present to an inexperienced audience; accordingly, the pressure on the first author to employ those devices with skill and ingenuity will be infinitely stronger. Beyond the mere assertion of individuality, therefore, the selection of style can determine an author's credibility, for as the sociologist Erving Goffman says, style is a form of language that serves the significant purpose of validating

whatever it is we wish to express as content.<sup>(1)</sup> So it is that in a study of this nature one must determine not only the character of the text, but also the point of view of the author and the probably expectations and reactions of the reader.

A general reading of both Persian and Turkish literature of the period represented in this study reveals that the style of each language becomes increasingly ornate as the level of sophistication among its readers rises and their demands become more refined. This trend eventually reaches its zenith and gradually declines, just as standards of education and literary experience among Persians and Ottomans attain a peak and then deteriorate, leading people to seek the simpler and more direct literary style which is obvious in the later works. It is hoped that evidence of this pattern will be observable in the eight renderings of Kalīla wa-Dimna and that the similarity in narrative content will facilitate the study of stylistic development.

#### The Method of Research

For the purposes of this study, the Arabic translation Kalīla wa-Dimna done by 'Abdullāh b. al-Mukaffa' c. 133/750 will be considered to be the original, since all the Persian and Turkish versions studied here derive directly or indirectly from this text.<sup>(2)</sup> No use of any pre-Ibn al-Mukaffa' text in any language

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(1) Erving Goffman, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life.  
Edinburgh, 1956. p.2.

(2) The exact relationship between the texts studied may be seen in the genealogical chart in Appendix A to this thesis.

has been made since the influence such a text might have exerted on any of the versions in question would be entirely by way of Ibn al-Mukaffa's Arabic.

All the known Persian prose renderings of Kalīla wa-Dimna have been used in this research, these being four in number:

- 1 Abū Ma'ālī Nasrollāh's Kalīla va Dimna-yi Bahrāmsāhī, c. 535/1140.
- 2 Mohammad b. 'Abdollāh al-Boḥārī's Kalīla va Dimna, 544/1149. (Hitherto unknown.)
- 3 Hosayn Vā'iz Kāşifī's Anvār-i Sohaylī, c. 895/1490.
- 4 Abū Fażl 'Allāmī's 'Iyār-i Dāniş, 996/1588.

The four Turkish prose versions here represented include only Western, i.e. Anatolian and Ottoman, Turkish renderings, these being:

- 1 Kul Mes'ūd's Kelīle ve Dimne, c. 730/1330.
- 2 'Alī Çelebi's Hümāyūn-nāma, c. 945/1538.
- 3 'Osmānzāda Tā'ib's Semār ül-Esmār, c. 1117/1705.
- 4 Ahmed Midhat's Hulāsa-yı Humāyūn-nāma, 1304/1886-87.

Because of its unsuitability for such a study, the Turkish list does not include an anonymous prose translation of Nasrollāh's Persian, apparently completed later than the Hümāyūn-nāma and now

in the Bodleian Library, Marsh 61.<sup>(1)</sup> This rendering contains numerous grammatical errors and gives the impression of being the work of an inexperienced translator far removed from the mainstream of contemporary Ottoman literature. Further, because the present study concentrates on Western Turkish, Eastern versions such as those manuscripts found in Munich and Dresden<sup>(2)</sup> and two nineteenth-century versions done by Fażlullāh b. 'Īsā Taşkendī and 'Abd al-'Allām Fayz Ḥanoġlū<sup>(3)</sup> are not represented. Finally, the Mūlahhas-ı Hūmāyūn by one Mollā Yahyā Efendi al-Mūftī, which is mentioned by Hāci Ḥalīfa and apparently based upon the Hūmāyūn-nāma, is not known to have survived.<sup>(4)</sup>

The initial research for this thesis involved the transcription in parallel fashion of the chapter of the Lion and the Bull (G in the cross-index of Appendix B) from each of the above-listed Persian and Turkish versions along with three editions of Ibn al-Mukaffa's Arabic. In this manner the stylistic relationships between the various renderings were clarified and data for further study provided. Because of the intensive analysis of that chapter, most - though not all - of the examples in this thesis will be drawn from it.

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- (1) Described by Ethé, PTHP, II, columns 1184-85. Also cf. Actes, pp.244-55.
- (2) Described, respectively, in Aumer, p.54, and Fleischer, p.19. Also, cf. Actes, pp.243, 247, 250-55.
- (3) C. Brockelmann, 'Kalīla wa-Dimna'. EI.
- (4) KZ, column 1509.

## THE WORK ITSELF

The Pañcatantra and its origins have for many years been a source of dispute, though few disagree that it came from India, was first written in Sanscrit and is by now one of the world's most widely circulated and most often translated works.<sup>(1)</sup> Its dates are unknown, but the Pañcatantra was certainly in existence by the time of the Sassanian king Ḥosrau Anūṣīrvān (A.D. 531-579) during whose reign the collection of moral fables was translated into Pahlavi and presented to the court as Kalīlag ud Damnag by the physician Borzūy who, according to tradition, had personally brought it from India.<sup>(2)</sup> Anūṣīrvān was reportedly so pleased by this deed that he ordered - at the physician's request - that the biography of Borzūy be placed among the book's introductory chapters. Soon after this the Pahlavi version was translated into

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- (1) Many studies are available which cover the history of the Pañcatantra and Kalīla wa-Dimna. The most notable are: Edg, Hertel, By, Gui, KF and Ocean. The last work includes what is perhaps the most comprehensive genealogical table to the known versions of the Pañcatantra, prepared by Franklin Edgerton, and a very informative foreword by Sir E. Denison Ross.
- (2) This thesis will follow the accepted Persian practice and write the physician's name with an -ūy termination. cf. Nöldeke, ZDMG 30(1876). pp. 752-53.

Syriac by a Christian churchman named Būd or Bōd.<sup>(1)</sup>

'Abdullāh b. al-Mukaffa'

The Pahlavi Kalīlag ud Damnag was translated into Arabic prose c.133/750 by 'Abdullāh b. al-Mukaffa', a Persian who was destined to become one of the most influential Arabic writers of the period. Rūzbih, as he was initially named, was born into an influential Zoroastrian family in about 102/720 near the modern Fīrūzābād in Fārs, and in spite of his obvious love for the Arabic language and having chosen to become a Muslim, he always retained a high regard for Persian history and traditions.<sup>(2)</sup>

The name Ibn al-Mukaffa' ('son of the cripple') is an apparent reference to the torture which 'Abdullāh's father, a tax collector, had undergone after being accused of misusing public funds. One early Arab writer, however, claims that this story is merely a popular misconception since the father's profession was that of mukaffi', a weaver or seller of baskets.<sup>(3)</sup>

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- (1) Until a century ago this old Syriac version had been presumed lost. c.f. Max Müller, Selected Essays on Language, Mythology and Religion. 2v., London, 1881. pp.549-55. The now standard Western version of that rendering is by Friedrich Schulthess, ed. and tr., Kalila und Dimna. 2v., Berlin, 1911.
- (2) Muḥammad Gufrānī 'l-Ḥurāsānī, 'Abdullāh b. al-Mukaffa'. Cairo, 1965. p.61.
- (3) Ibn Ḥallikān, Biographical Dictionary, tr. MacGuckin de Slane. Paris, 1842-71. I, p.435.

It would perhaps seem more fitting if the former version were true, for Ibn Mukaffa's life was destined to be far from peaceful since the brilliant writer's outspokenness would make him many bitter enemies and numerous others would see the mark of a zindīk in everything he said and wrote. (1)

Ibn Mukaffa's professional talents were soon recognized and he found ready employment in the service of various government officials in Kirmān and Basra, in the latter city working for the caliph al-Mansūr's uncle 'Īsā b. 'Alī to whom he eventually made the profession of faith. (2) In addition to his secretarial duties Ibn Mukaffa must have devoted much time to the translation of works from Pahlavi into Arabic and to the composition of original works in the latter tongue. Although much uncertainty prevails concerning the exact scope of his work, among the Iranian books which he is reputed to have translated (apart, of course, from Kalīlag ud Damnag) are the Hodāy-nāma, the Ā'īn-nāma, the Tāc-nāma, the Nāma-yi Tansar and the Kitāb-i Mazdak, (3) all dealing with Persian history, customs and traditions. (It is probable that such authors as Dakīkī and Firdausī drew either directly or indirectly upon these translations.)

Two original works ascribed to Ibn Mukaffa are the Risāla

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(1) Ibid., p.432.

(2) Ibid., p.431.

(3) F. Gabrieli, 'L'opera di Ibn al-Muqaffa'. Rivista degli Studi Orientali 13(1931-32). pp.198-218. Mary Boyce, 'The Indian fables in the Letter of Tansar'. Asia Major 5 (1955-56). pp.50-58.



fi 's-Sahāba and the Adab Kabīr.<sup>(1)</sup> The first of these takes the form of well-considered letters addressed to "the Caliph" (who is certainly al-Mansūr) commenting upon early 'Abbāsid political and religious matters and suggesting improvements in many areas. Adab Kabīr is a book of counsel designed for well-placed youths and giving advice on a wide variety of topics.

There is yet another original work with which Ibn Mukaffa's name has been linked, but the only traces of it are to be found contained in an attack upon it, entitled Ar-Raddu 'ala 'z-Zindīki 'l-'Ayni Ibni 'l-Mukaffa' and written in the first half of the third Islamic century by a Yemeni imām named al-Kāsim b. Ibrāhīm Ṭabāṭabā.<sup>(2)</sup> As the title of his work implies, the imām refutes Ibn Mukaffa', labelling him a zindīk, and sets out to defend basic Islamic institutions from the Persian. Those fragments of Ibn Mukaffa's work which the imām includes could well be genuine for, as Gabrieli points out, there are remarkable similarities between them and the biography of Borzūy (E in the cross-index).<sup>(3)</sup>

The circumstances surrounding Ibn Mukaffa's translation of the Pahlavi Kalīlag ud Damnag into Arabic are unclear, with absolutely no evidence to indicate when, where or how the work was

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(1) Both published in Muhammad Kurd 'Alī, Rasā'ilu 'l-Balāga. Cairo, 1913.

(2) This work has been published by M. Guidi, La Lotta tra l'Islām e il Manicheismo. Rome, 1927. Also, c.f. Gabrieli, op. cit., pp.87-95.

(3) C. Brockelmann, 'Kalīla wa-Dimna', EI. Gabrieli, op. cit., p.244.

done. So vague, indeed, is the matter that Sir E. Denison Ross confesses to having doubts that Ibn Muḳaffa' has anything to do with the work.<sup>(1)</sup> Almost everyone who writes on the subject, moreover, laments the lack of concrete information and the impossibility of reproducing the Arabic text in a form which even approximates the autograph copy. The oldest known manuscripts are dated 618/1221-2 and 739/1338-9, published by 'Abdu 'l-Wahhāb 'Azzām and Louis Cheikho respectively, so that even the earliest of them was not copied until almost 500 years after Ibn Muḳaffa''s death - an exceedingly long period for so popular a work.<sup>(2)</sup> A comparison of almost any two editions shows to what extent the entire text has been corrupted.

It is here that Būd's old Syriac text, as roughly representative of the Pahlavi version (which, unfortunately, has itself disappeared) and early manuscripts of works based on Ibn Muḳaffa''s text are useful because a comparison between them shows that several chapters appear in the Arabic versions for the first time. (The plural is intentionally employed here because of the wide variance in Arabic texts.) Of these additions, it is largely agreed today that Ibn Muḳaffa' himself composed the introduction bearing his name [D] and the chapter of the Investigation into Dimna's Conduct [H], this latter chapter being inserted perhaps because Ibn Muḳaffa' could not countenance the guilty jackal's

(1) 'Ibn Muqaffa' and the Burzoë Legend'. JRAS 1926. p.505.

(2) Kalīla wa-Dimna, ed. 'Abdu 'l-Wahhāb 'Azzām; intro. Taha Husayn. Cairo, 1941. Kalīla wa-Dimna, ed. Louis Cheikho. Beirut, 1905, 1923.

complete escape from any punishment, as happens in the original Pañcatantra.<sup>(1)</sup> Another chapter which many, like Nöldeke, Benfey and al-Bīrūnī, attribute at least in part to Ibn Mukaffa' is Borzūy's Biography [E] because of the clear humanistic and anti-religious sentiments expressed in it; Keith-Falconer, on the other hand, feels that only a physician, like Borzūy, could have composed the chapter's detailed account of the development of an embryo and argues that it is quite unlikely that Ibn Mukaffa' would have written two introductory chapters.<sup>(2)</sup> While other additions to the collection of fables may also be from the hand of Ibn Mukaffa', it is possible, too, that later writers inserted them.<sup>(3)</sup> Gabrieli, for one, admits this confusion, saying:

To sum up, the translator's own personal share in this his most celebrated work remains somewhat indefinite and requires caution, but this in no way detracts from his unrivalled cultural achievement in having been first to

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- (1) KF, pp.xix-xxxviii.
- (2) Theodor Nöldeke, Burzōes Einleitung zu dem Buche Kalīlah wa-Dimna, Schriften der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft in Strassburg. Heft 12, Strassburg, 1912. By, p.76. KF, p.xxiv. Al-Bīrūnī is also of the opinion that this chapter is entirely Ibn Mukaffa''s.
- (3) The 'Alī b. Šāh Preface' [B] has also been controversial. c.f. A.L. Beeston, 'The "Alī Ibn Shāh" Preface to Kalīlah wa Dimnah'. Oriens 7(1954). pp.81-84.

present this literary jewel from India to Arabo-Islamic civilization, and through it to the Byzantine and Latin West.<sup>(1)</sup>

Among both Middle Eastern and Western writers Ibn Mukaffa's works have won high praise on account of their stylistic grace and originality. Ibnu 'n-Nadīm notes in his Fihrist that Ibn Mukaffa was:

...most accomplished as a master of literary style and eloquence, as well as being an author, poet and stylist....He was skilled and eloquent in both languages [Arabic and Persian].<sup>(2)</sup>

The same author quotes one Abu 'l-'Aynā' Muḥammad b. al-Kāsim b. Ḥillād (d. after 280/893-4), whom he considered very knowledgeable in literary style, as counting Ibn Mukaffa among the ten "masters of literary style and indeed mentioned him first." Among the books listed "because of their excellence" was Kalīla wa-Dimna.<sup>(3)</sup>

The Persian Ḥ<sup>v</sup>andamīr states that Ibn Mukaffa was without peer or rival in the fields of eloquence and rhetoric.<sup>(4)</sup> 'Abdo

(1) Gabrieli, 'Ibn al-Mukaffa', EI<sup>2</sup>.

(2) Tr. B. Dodge. 2 v., New York, 1970. pp.259-60.

(3) Ibid., pp.273-76

(4) Tārīh-i Ḥabībo 's-Sayar. Tehran, 1333 šamsī. II, p.225.

'l-'Azīm Karīb echoes these sentiments, saying that the translation of Kalīla wa-Dimna is a model of eloquence and rhetoric.<sup>(1)</sup> Taha Husayn also expresses similar feelings in praising Ibn Mukaffa's powers of translation and pointing out the similarities between the style he largely pioneered and that of present-day Arabic.<sup>(2)</sup> 'Abdu 'l-Wahhāb 'Azzām also talks of the translator's skills in expression and suggests that through Ibn Mukaffa', Persian style may well have had an influence upon early Arabic similar to that which Arabic would later have upon Persian.<sup>(3)</sup>

Among Westerners, de Sacy stresses the "simplicité primitive" of Ibn Mukaffa's style, saying that in order to choose the best manuscript or reading for his edition of Kalīla wa-Dimna:

...j'ai cru que celle qui étoit la plus concise, qui offroit le moins d'allusions à la religion, aux opinions, à la littérature des Arabes, dont le récit enfin étoit plus simple, devoit être préférée, non précisément comme la meilleure, mais du moins comme celle qui devoit représenter le plus fidèlement l'ouvrage d'Abd-allah.<sup>(4)</sup>

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(1) NasG, p.xvii.

(2) Az, pp.vii-xii. Also Min Hadīti 's-Si'ri wa-'n-Natr. Cairo, 1969. pp.48-49.

(3) Az, pp.xiii-xv.

(4) Syl, Mémoire Historique. pp.14-15.

H.A.R. Gibb, however, feels much more strongly about Ibn Muḳaffa's talents, for he relates how the writer initiated the 'secretarial' school of letters through his translation of Persian court works and that he:

...posed the problem of finding a smooth and palatable prose style, even at the cost of a breach with accepted Arabic tradition....

Because of their simple literary style and entertaining contents, these works [Kalīla wa-Dimna, Adab Kabīr, etc.] gained wide popularity in the new urban society.<sup>(1)</sup>

Finally, R.A. Nicholson writes:

We possess a specimen of his powers in the famous Book of Kalīla and Dimna....The Arabic version is one of the oldest prose works in that language, and is justly regarded as a model of elegant style, though it has not the pungent brevity which marks true Arabic eloquence.<sup>(2)</sup>

Hāci Halīfa writes that two more independent translations of the Pahlavi Kalīlag ud Damnag were made into Arabic within

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(1) Arabic Literature. London, 1926; 1962. pp.52-53.

(2) A Literary History of the Arabs. Cambridge, 1914; 1969. p.346.

half a century of Ibn Mukaffa's death, though many doubt the veracity of this statement.<sup>(1)</sup>

Similarly, at least three Arabic versifications of Ibn Mukaffa's work are known to have been made, although one of these has been lost.

The basic editions of the Arabic Kalīla wa-Dimna for this study have been those by 'Abdu 'l-Wahhāb 'Azzām (Cairo, 1941) and Louis Cheikho (Beirut, 1905; 1923), both of which are now considered to be standard works in the field, although 'Azzām's edition has the advantage of being based on a manuscript dated 618/1221-22 which is 121 years older than the major manuscript in Cheikho's study. When Sylvestre de Sacy published his edition (Paris, 1816) it was greeted with enthusiasm, though there is now much dissatisfaction felt about his having combined a number of manuscripts - now generally considered inferior ones - to form the final text. Ignazio Guidi devotes much of his Studi sul Testo Arabo del Libro di Calila e Dimna (Rome, 1873) to disentangling and correcting de Sacy's edition.

Abū Ma'ālī Nasrollāh

Firdausī records in the Sāhnāma that Ibn Mukaffa's Arabic Kalīla wa-Dimna was translated into Persian during the reign of Nasr b. Ahmad Sāmānī (301/914-331/943) by the order of his vizier

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(1) KZ, column 1058. Martin Sprengling discusses these works in 'Kalīla Studies I'. American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures 40(1923-24). pp.81-97.

Abū Faḡl Bal‘amī, but it is not known if this anonymous work was ever completed for the only traces of it are to be found reworked in the few surviving lines of a versification by Rūdakī.<sup>(1)</sup> The earliest extant prose translation in Persian is that by Abū ‘l-Ma‘ālī Naṣrollāh b. Moḥammad b. ‘Abdo ‘l-Ḥamīd (d. 546/1151), who based his rendering directly upon Ibn Mukaffa‘'s text. Although in his introduction Naṣrollāh mentions the existence of previous Persian translations, he names only the one by Rūdakī.<sup>(2)</sup>

There is some doubt concerning Naṣrollāh's place of origin. Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī in his Haft Iklīm and Loṭf ‘Alī Beg Āzar in Ātiskada both describe Naṣrollāh as being from Shiraz, whereas Vassāf - himself a Shirazi - notes in his Tārīḥ-i Vassāf that the translator is Ghaznavid.<sup>(3)</sup> As an argument for the latter view, some scholars have cited the rather mysterious 'preface' attributed to one ‘Alī b. Ṣāh or Bahnūd b. Sahvān, which has come to be appended to many copies of Kalīla wa-Dimna and which speaks of "...yakī az afāzīl-i Ġazanīn..." and goes on to indicate that the scholar versified Kalīla wa-Dimna, apparently in Arabic.<sup>(4)</sup> Clearly such a description could never apply to Naṣrollāh. Bahār aligns himself with Rāzī and Āzar in this matter, feeling quite

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- (1) Ṣāhnāma, Birūḥīm edition. Tehran, 1934-35. p.2506. The surviving lines of Rūdakī's Kalīla va Dimna versification are published by Sa‘īd Nafīsī in Ahvāl-o-Aṣ‘ār-i Rūdakī. Tehran, 1310 ḡamsī. II, pp.588-91.
- (2) NasM, pp.23-25.
- (3) As quoted in Rieu, II, p.745. Vassāf, p.629.
- (4) MS Pers.f.12 in Bodleian Library, Oxford, ff.242b-260a.



strongly that Naṣrollāh's style could not be the product of a native of Ghazna.<sup>(1)</sup>

Whatever his origins, it is certain that Naṣrollāh first came to fame in the court of Yamīno 'd-Daula Bahrāmshāh Ġaznavī (510/1117-552/1157), a generous patron of the arts to whom Naṣrollāh dedicated his translation which, accordingly, came to be known as the Kalīla va Dimna-yi Bahrāmshāhī.<sup>(2)</sup>

Naṣrollāh apparently spent most of his adult life in the court of Bahrāmshāh and his successors and was to meet his death by royal command (as had his predecessor in translation, Ibn Muḳaffa'); after having served Ḥosrau Malik b. Ḥosrau Shāh b. Bahrāmshāh (555/1160-582/1186) in the capacity of vizier (a manuscript appends 'al-Moṣrif' to the writer's name<sup>(3)</sup>) Naṣrollāh fell foul of the king and was put to death, accused of many crimes including treachery.<sup>(4)</sup>

It is not possible to assign a precise date to Naṣrollāh's translation. Sylvestre de Sacy calculates that the work must have been completed about 515/1121, whereas Rieu - and later Karīb - determines from events mentioned in Naṣrollāh's preface that it was probably not finished before 538 or 539. Bahār considers

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(1) Sabk, II, p.950.

(2) NasM, p.8.

(3) NasG, p.xxxiii. For a discussion of the office of moṣrif among the Ghaznavids, c.f. C.E. Bosworth, The Ghaznavids. Edinburgh, 1963. p.94.

(4) Nūro 'd-Dīn Mohammad 'Aufī, Tazkira-yi Lobābo 'l-Albāb, ed. Browne and Ḳazvīnī. London and Leiden, 1906. I, pp.92-93.

536/1142 to be the most likely date of completion.<sup>(1)</sup>

The readers to whom Nasrollāh addresses himself would certainly have had a knowledge of Arabic at least equal to his own, so a partial answer to the problem of why Nasrollāh thought a translation of Ibn Mukaffa' would be desirable is supplied in his own introduction. Here he mentions that several translations into Persian had preceded his own but that none, excepting Rūdakī's versification, had any lasting literary value, being intended merely to pass the time with pleasant stories rather than to communicate wisdom. Consequently, those versions were incapable of inspiring the reader (or listener) by good counsel or of instilling moral values and so had rendered the collection of tales lifeless.<sup>(2)</sup> It was Nasrollāh's intention to exalt the language of Kalīla wa-Dimna and lend emphasis to the import of its tales by including kur'ānic verses, historical anecdotes, poetry and proverbs. In this way he hoped "...this book which has existed for several thousand years would be revitalized."<sup>(3)</sup>

Nasrollāh's Kalīla va Dimna occupies a unique position in Persian literature, for though we will probably never know exactly what literary qualities earlier prose translations of Kalīla wa-Dimna may have had, it would be safe to assume from the way in which Nasrollāh dismisses them that they belonged to the class of popular entertainment rather than to belles lettres. Indeed,

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- (1) Notices, X, i, pp.133-37. Rieu, II, p.746. NasG, p.xxxviii.  
Sabk, II, p.950.
- (2) NasM, p.25.
- (3) Ibid.

probably few prose works in Persian prior to Naṣrollāh's would merit consideration in the latter category. Although he does not explicitly say so, one cannot escape the impression that Naṣrollāh had among his intentions to produce in his own language some of the elegance and charm with which he would have been familiar in Arabic literature as it had developed since Ibn Mukaffa' through to such stylists as Ibn Kutayba, Cāhiz and the like. In this respect, therefore, Naṣrollāh must be looked upon as a true innovator in Persian letters; it may even be asserted that the later contribution of Sa'dī and Cāmī to this particular genre of moral tale exhibit in tone and language a direct development of the work which originated with Naṣrollāh.

Persian literary figures, both of Naṣrollāh's and of succeeding generations, have been unstinting in their praise of his translation of Kalīla va Dimna. Nūro 'd-Dīn 'Aufī, in Lobābo 'l-Albāb, writes:

'The unbroken steed of bayān has been tamed by [Naṣrollāh's] genius, so that until the end of time and the extinction of the world everyone writing a treatise (risālat) or seeking to show skill in composition (kitābat) can benefit from the merits [of Naṣrollāh's writing]; this translation of Kalīla wa-Dimna which he has made is the source (dastmāya) for all writing and for masters of the art... Of all the Persian writers, none other of such eminence has ever been seen. (1)

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(1) Op. cit., p.92.

There can be little doubt that Naṣrollāh expended a great amount of scholarly effort in his version, for in addition to translating Ibn Mukāffa's Arabic he collected or composed relevant verse in Persian and Arabic to be dispersed throughout the text. Among the poets whose verse has been used by Naṣrollāh are Abu 'l-Farac Rūnī, Sanā'ī, Mas'ūd-i Sa'd-i Salmān, Abū Hilāl 'Askarī, Abū Tammām, Ibn Ḥallikān and Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abdu 'l-Kuddus.

From an early period Naṣrollāh's Arabic verses had aroused sufficient interest and discussion for one Faḡlollāh b. 'Osmān b. Moḥammad al-Asfizārī to produce a translation and commentary on the subject. This work, known variously as Tarcoma-yi Abyāt-i Kalīla va Dimna and Ṣarḥ-i Aṣ'ār-i Kalīla va Dimna was written within a century of the completion of Naṣrollāh's version and seeks to identify the sources of the Arabic verse which he includes. (1)

Vaṣṣāf, comparing his own dislike for Naṣrollāh's use of other people's work to that of Abu 'l-Farac Rūnī for Mas'ūd-i Sa'd-i Salmān, writes:

"...ān-gāh moṭāli'ān...ba-dānand ki ta'arroḡ-i

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- (1) Only two copies are known to exist. That bearing the first title is in the British Library (Add. 5965) and is described by Rieu, op. cit., II, p.746. The second is in the Maclis Library in Tehran and described in the preface to NasA, pp.24-32. The British Library copy has later notes penned in the margins, indicating a continued interest by others.

Anvārī dar ṣān-i Amīr Mo'izzī va ṣanā'at-i  
intihāl-i ū dīvān-i Abu 'l-Farac Rūnī<sup>(1)</sup> va  
Mas'ūd-i Sa'd-i Salmān ḥasb-i ḥāl-i Vassāf va  
Gaznavī-st, ḥonān ki goft:

Kas dānam az akābir-i gardūn-kaṣān-i dahr  
K-ū-rā ṣarīḥ ḥūn-i do dīvān ba-gardan-ast  
Bārī marā-st ṣi'r-i man az har ṣifat ki hast  
Gar nā-morattab ast va-gar nā-mozayyan ast.<sup>(2)</sup>

A further objection which Vassāf makes to the Kalīla va Dimna-yi Bahrāmshāhī is that much of Nasrollāh's sac' is ill-conceived and lacks proper balance. As examples he gives several cases of negative antecedents being wrongly followed by positives, positive ones by negatives and so on. The historian, moreover, accuses Nasrollāh of haste and lack of deliberation in composition.<sup>(3)</sup> In spite of these opinions, however, Vassāf admits that Nasrollāh's translation had gained a reputation as a kind of "Persian Kur'an" because numerous scholars, including one of Vassāf's own learned and respected friends, had memorized large sections of it and would quote from it at appropriate moments, much as they would from the Kur'an itself.<sup>(4)</sup>

No-one seems to have joined in Vassāf's criticism of Nasrollāh, at least not on these points, for others are lavish

(1) The text mistakenly gives 'Rūmī'.

(2) Vassāf, p.629.

(3) Ibid., pp.629-30.

(4) Op. cit., pp.627-28.

with their praise. Rāzī, writing in his Haft Iklīm, says that 'no Persian prose work was ever so much admired', while Sa'do 'd-Dīn Varāvīnī notes in the preface to his Marzobān-nāma, a work similar in style and structure to the Kalīla va Dimna-yi Bahrāmshāhī, that Nasrollāh's work had been a guiding force during his own translation and revision of the Marzobān-nāma. Sayyid Hasan Aṣraf of Ghazna, a contemporary of Nasrollāh and fellow-member of Bahrāmshāh's court, addresses a laudatory poem to him in his Dīvān.<sup>(1)</sup> Hosayn Vā'iz Kāṣifī, who in the late fifteenth century A.D. transformed Nasrollāh's version into the far more richly embellished Anvār-i Sohaylī, writes that Nasrollāh was "the most eloquent of the eloquent and the most perfect of orators", then goes on to say of the Kalīla va Dimna-yi Bahrāmshāhī:

In truth its expressions are beautiful, like  
sweet life, and fresh as it were tinted coral,  
while its enchanting words resemble the glances  
of honey-lipped lust-exciting beauties, and  
its soul-exhilarating mystic meanings are like  
the waists of smooth-faced charmers.<sup>(2)</sup>

Having said this, Kāṣifī goes on to note how the translation was outdated and that meanings were often obscure.

Iranians today generally hold favourable opinions of

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(1) Rāzī, as quoted in Rieu, II, p.745. Marz, p.2. Sayyid Hasan Gaznavī, Dīvān, ed. Raḡavī. Tehran, 1328 šamsī. pp.157-58.

(2) Wol, p.7.

Nasrollāh. Hosayn Farīvar writes that:

Abu 'l-Ma'ālī dar tarcoma-yi Kalīla va Dimna  
kodrat-o-mahārat ba-ḥarc dāda va tasallot-i  
h<sup>v</sup>ad-rā dar zabān-i Pārsī-vo-Tāzī isbāt  
karda ast.<sup>(1)</sup>

Farīvar goes on to note how Nasrollāh created a style, which was entirely his own and quite separate from that of the Sāmānids and Ghaznavids, through inclusion of poetry and quotations, use of parallelism, attention to pronunciation and rhythm, and general skill in applying rules of Arabic grammar to Persian.<sup>(2)</sup>

This last point is taken up by Parvīn Gonābādī who specifically mentions that some of Nasrollāh's sentences show the influence of Arabic word order, but also stresses that the writer went to great lengths to preserve natural Persian sentence patterns.<sup>(3)</sup>

Sayyid Aḥmad Ḥorāsānī, on the other hand, is highly critical of Nasrollāh, though not on the same grounds as Vaṣṣāf, for this writer gives a brief history of the Pañcatantra and Kalīla wa-Dimna, praising the work highly. He then states:

Valī mota'assifāna bāyad goft hanūz īn kitāb-i

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(1) Tārīḥ-i Adabiyāt-i Īrān va Tārīḥ-i Šo'arā. Tehran, 1334 šamsī. p.166.

(2) Op. cit., p.167.

(3) 'Çand nokta dar bāra-yi oslūb-i nasr-i Kalīla va Dimna-yi Bahrāmšāhī'. Payām-i Nau 4, v, pp.79-86.

sudmand ba-Fārsī tarcoma na-şoda ast zīrā  
dīgarān mānand-i Mollā Hosayn Kāşifī az Abu  
'l-Ma'ālī Naşrollāh dabīr girifta-and va īn  
mard ham na 'Arabī hūb mī-dānasta ast, na  
Fārsī, va na mantīk-i lāzim barā-yi  
navīsandagī-vo-tarcoma dāsta ast....  
Naşrollāh dabīr-o-Kalīla-yaş ham barā-yi mā  
botī dīgar şoda ki bāyad şikast.<sup>(1)</sup>

Horasānī provides 'proof' for his view by showing how  
Naşrollāh omits several tales from Ibn Mukaffa's Arabic version  
and does not follow a one-for-one system of translation. An  
example singled out is the tale of the Man who Could Not Escape  
his Fate [G5 in the cross-index], the lack of which in the Kalīla  
va Dimna-yi Bahrāmsāhī is said to 'prove' Naşrollāh's incompetence.  
Had Horasānī researched sufficiently into the matter, he would have  
found that several Arabic editions, including Cheikho's, omit that  
particular tale; it seems likely that the Arabic original used by  
Naşrollāh also lacked the story.

Western scholars have been full of praise for the Kalīla va  
Dimna-yi Bahrāmsāhī. Sylvestre de Sacy writes that the very  
talented Naşrollāh displays in that work his excellent knowledge of  
Arabic language and literature, and that he embellishes his Persian  
text with moral and political lessons, enriches the descriptions  
and ornaments the style with "toutes les fleurs de l'éloquence

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(1) 'Yak baḥş dar-bāra-yi Kalīla-yi Bahrāmsāhī'. Danış 2(1330).  
pp.337-39.



et...toutes les couleurs de la rhétorique" in order to make the work more relevant to his contemporaries. De Sacy continues, however, by supporting the objections raised by Kāṣifī and Abū Faḡl, saying:

A force cependant de faire parade de son  
érudition, il a dû nuire en partie au succès  
de son ouvrage, ou du moins diminuer le  
nombre de ses lecteurs. (1)

The French Orientalist also notes that Naṣrollāh's work still maintains its popularity in spite of the presence of Kāṣifī's later version. (2)

E.G. Browne, while not directly expressing an opinion about the work, strongly implies that he agrees with views expressed by Rāzī and Vassāf - although one is inclined to wonder whether he had actually read the latter. After comparing the styles of Naṣrollāh and Kāṣifī by means of parallel texts, Browne makes it obvious that he much prefers the former. (3)

A.J. Arberry says that Naṣrollāh's "Persian style of translation was long applauded for its chasteness and elegance", while Jan Rypka writes that the Kalīla va Dimna-yi Bahrāmshāh is "a masterpiece of Persian prose in virtue of its comparative

(1) Syl, Mémoire Historique, pp.40-41.

(2) Notices, X, 1, p.137.

(3) LHP, II, pp.349-53.

simplicity."<sup>(1)</sup> Rypka then adds that "it made some concessions to contemporary taste by the inclusion of various rhetorical ornaments." In discussing another writer, Kāzī Ḥamīdo 'd-Dīn, the Czech professor says that his style lacked the "ease of Nasrollāh's."<sup>(2)</sup>

Finally, Maliko 'ṣ-Ṣo'arā Bahār, who devotes almost fifty pages of his Sabk Ṣināsī to Nasrollāh and his rendering of Kalīla wa-Dimna,<sup>(3)</sup> acclaims the work highly, noting how it has been eagerly passed from hand to hand since the moment of completion and that in modern times it has been constantly in print. As evidence of this popularity he adds that the number of corrupt versions of this work is even greater than that of such works as the Sāhnāma, the Qolistan and the Tarīḥ-i Bal'amī.<sup>(4)</sup> Throughout this section Bahār's theme is that Nasrollāh was stylistically ingenious and innovative and that his work has had great influence on the development of Persian literary prose.

Nearly every modern commentator on Nasrollāh has spoken of the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of obtaining an accurate impression of Nasrollāh's Kalīla va Dimna-yi Bahrāmshāhī because of the lack of an early example of the work and the disagreement between extant manuscripts. While this is certainly true to a degree, a comparison of the many published texts which have appeared in the past century shows that the versions are remarkably similar to one another, especially when one considers

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(1) CPL, p.95. Rypka, p.222.

(2) Rypka, p.223.

(3) Sabk, II, pp.248-96.

(4) Ibid., II, p.254.

the difficulty in establishing an 'ur-text' for Ibn Mukaffa's Arabic. This is not to deny that a problem exists, however, for each of the printed editions available today claims to have the best reading from the evidence at hand.

Over the past century editions of the Kalīla va Dimna-yi Bahrāmshāhī have been appearing repeatedly in Tabriz and Tehran, four of which have been used in this study. The oldest, NasG, is by 'Abdo 'l-'Azīm Ḥān Garakānī (nowadays known as Karīb) and is his second edition of 1308 samsī, based largely upon a 1300 hicrī edition by Ḥasan 'Alī Ḥān Amīr Nizām and containing a very informative preface. The text has been bowdlerized, however, to the extent that some of the more indelicate tales have been entirely omitted. These missing sections are restored in the 1348 samsī printing of Karīb's text, NasK, also used here.

The two remaining texts are more recent and products of much deeper research. The better known of these, NasM, is edited by Moctabā Mīnovī Tīhrānī and is published by the University of Tehran, while the second, NasA, is the work of Ḥasan Ḥasanzāda Āmolī. Both these texts have lengthy introductions, are copiously footnoted and draw comparisons between readings in various manuscripts. Āmolī's edition is essentially based on an eighth century hicrī manuscript in the Malīk Library in Tehran, while Mīnovī's has the distinct advantage of using two early manuscripts, one dated 551 hicrī (now in the Carullāh Efendi Library in Istanbul) and the other dated 594 hicrī (held by the Turkish Ministry of Information in Ankara). Āmolī's extensive research into sources of verse, his study of mistakes in previous printed versions of Nasrollāh's text and his inclusion of several chapters never

before included with Persian versions of Kalīla wa-Dimna but appended to Cheikho's edition of Ibn Mukaffa', all lend considerable value to his edition of the work.

Mohammad b. 'Abdollāh al-Boḥārī

Ibn Mukaffa's Kalīla wa-Dimna was again translated into Persian prose by Mohammad b. 'Abdollāh al-Boḥārī during the rather short reign of Sayf ad-Dīn Ġazī b. 'Imād ad-Dīn Zangī b. Ak Sonkor (541/1146-544/1149), the second ruler of the Atabeg dynasty of Mosul.<sup>(1)</sup> This version, however, was not to bring its translator the instant acclaim and enduring fame which Nasrollāh's version brought him; and indeed, not one historical or literary source even hints that this version exists, nor does the name of its translator ever arise in this or any other connection.

The sole extant copy of this version is contained in manuscript YX. 777 in the library of the Topkapı Museum in Istanbul (a microfilm of which was used for the present work) and has been described - inaccurately - by Fehmi Edhem Karatay in his Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Farsça Yazmalar Kataloğu,<sup>(2)</sup> the only place in which the existence of this work is mentioned. This manuscript (former classification H 979) is described as being on rather stiff glazed paper, having the dimensions 32.5 x 23 cm., and consisting of 117 folios, each of which contains nineteen

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(1) Stanley Lane-Poole, The Mohammedan Dynasties. London, 1894. p.163.

(2) Istanbul, 1961. p.300, entry no. 863.

17 cm. lines in the Nashī script. This is entirely correct.

Karatay continues, however,

'...Zafar b. Mas'ūd b. al-Hasan b. Abī'l-Barakāt  
al-Fakīh al-Curbadakānī eliyle 644 (1246) Seferi  
evalinde Azarbaycan Atābeklerinden Aslān İnānç  
Kutluğ Tuğrultekin'in kütüphanesi için istinsah  
edilmistir.'<sup>(1)</sup>

This sentence contains several inaccuracies. Firstly, Karatay's reading of the date is incorrect by one century, for the colophon (f.117b, line 17) notes:

وقع الفراغ من كتبه في الاوائل من صفر سنة اربع واربعين وخمسمائه

This firmly places the date of copying in the month of Safar 544/June 1149, a full century earlier than Karatay's reading - and roughly four and a half months before the death of Sayf ad-Dīn. Secondly, it is very misleading to state that the ruler for whom the work was copied was an Azarbayjani Atabeg, for that branch of the Atabeg dynasties did not even last as long as Karatay's date of 644/1246 and no ruler with a name even vaguely resembling Sayf ad-Dīn's is recorded in that line of Atabegs.<sup>(2)</sup>

Lastly, the colophon continues:

وكتب ظفر بن مسعود بن الحسن المكنى بابي البركات الفقيه الحرادقاي  
حامدا لله تعالى ومصليا على نبيه محمد وآله الطاهرين اجمعين

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(1) Op. cit. Inconsistent transcription copied from the original.

(2) Lane Poole, p.171.

From this it can be seen that the scribe's name was probably Zafar b. Mas'ūd b. al-Ḥasan, known as (al-mokannā) Abu 'l-Barakāt al-Fakīh - which is followed by a nisba which is difficult to decipher. Karatay has apparently taken it to be identical to Curbadākān, the Arabic name for the Iranian town of Golpāygān<sup>(1)</sup> and is probably correct in this.

Later in the same entry, Karatay states that the translator Mohammad b. 'Abdollāh al-Boḥārī, is none other than 'Abd Allāh abu'l-Ḥasan as-Samarkandī, veyā al-Buhārī', whose mahlas he gives as Rūdakī.<sup>(2)</sup> It has already been noted that Firdausī recorded in his Sāhnāma that the Sāmānid vizier Bal'amī ordered an unnamed person to translate Ibn Mukaffa's Kalīla wa-Dimna into Persian prose, and later commanded Rūdakī to put this into verse. It may have been some recollection of this that prompted Karatay to ascribe this present work to Rūdakī. The fact is, however, that the manuscript is a unicum, and a valuable specimen of twelfth-century ordinary Persian prose, unadorned by rhetoric.

Because al-Boḥārī's name has never appeared in any other connection, it is impossible to know exactly who he was, but it is obvious from statements within the manuscript that he was at the court of Sayf ad-Dīn (whose name appears twice)<sup>(3)</sup> and that it was Sayf ad-Dīn who instructed him to translate Ibn Mukaffa's Kalīla wa-Dimna into 'zabān-i Darī',<sup>(4)</sup> - not for the benefit of

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(1) Guy LeStrange, The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate. Cambridge, 1905; 1930. p.210.

(2) Karatay, op.cit.

(3) MS YX 777, ff. 1a, 4b.

(4) Ibid., f. 13b.

the king, but for certain members of his court who were unable to understand the Arabic version.<sup>(1)</sup>

This brings up the important question of the national make-up of Sayf ad-Dīn's Atabeg court. The dynasty itself was certainly Turkish, as were the rulers of all adjacent territories, and the caliphate was still alive in Baghdad, but only just. The major Arabic intellectual centres of the period were probably Baghdad or Damascus - but hardly Mosul - and as far as Persian culture was concerned, the nearest centres were to the east and south in Shiraz or Isfahan, or far to the east among the Ghaznavids (where Nasrollāh was still alive and presumably still active). Since we know that the Seljuks had attracted numerous Persian scholars westward in their wake from Khorasan and Central Asia and that many of them were employed in the administration, it is safe to assume that a court such as Sayf ad-Dīn's would have been largely composed of Turks and Persians, with but a handful of Arabs in high positions. Such a court could not have boasted many members who were truly capable of understanding the Arabic of Ibn Muḳaffa's Kalīla wa-Dimna, and it may well have been that the Shah himself was in the same position.

One can only speculate, but it would seem that al-Boḥārī was among those drawn westwards in the service of the Seljuks. When Sayf ad-Dīn came to power following the death of Zangī in 541/1146, he rapidly (it must have been rapid, for he ruled only four years) gained a reputation as a patron of the arts and of learning and as a very pious man who had established a madrasa in Mosul.<sup>(2)</sup> Such

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(1) MS YL 777, f. 5b.

(2) Ibn Ḥallikān, op.cit., p.441.



a reputation could well have attracted someone like al-Boḥārī, who was a person of some learning and no doubt seeking an outlet for his talents.

On the other hand, a court of the composition just described would probably not have been very demanding of its scholars and artists, for in a period like Sayf ad-Dīn's most of those at the court would have prided themselves on accomplishments in the martial, rather than the fine, arts. The overall tone of al-Boḥārī's Kalīla va Dimna lends support to this supposition, for although it is certainly a competent - and even entertaining - translation, as a work of art it is quite pedestrian when compared with the Kalīla va Dimna-yi Bahrāmshāh of al-Boḥārī's contemporary, Nasrollāh.

One of the first things to strike a reader of the Zangid Kalīla va Dimna is its simplicity, a simplicity partly resulting from its relatively small Arabic content. In addition, the entire tone of the work, excluding the preface, is colloquial and probably reflects the Persian of Bokhara, the region whose dialect would be most familiar to the translator.

It is to be remembered that the Shah ordered the work translated into 'zabān-i Darī', by which he may have meant the language of his own court (dar). He probably intended Darī to be taken in the wider sense, however, i.e. '...a simple style of New Persian free from Arabic words', as Richard Frye has described it.<sup>(1)</sup> The fact that Arabic vocabulary plays such a

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(1) Richard N. Frye, 'Development of Persian literature under the Samanids and Qarakhanids'. Yād-nāma-yi Jan Rypka. Prague, 1967. p.71.



minor role in al-Boḥārī's Kalīla va Dimna would lend support to this idea, whereas Nasrollāh's version with its extensive use of Arabic would exemplify Frye's definition of Fārsī.<sup>(1)</sup> By the end of the eleventh century A.D., Darī (as above defined) was virtually dead as a literary language while Fārsī was daily gaining strength. Scholars such as Nasrollāh perhaps played an important role in hastening this evolution.

It is when al-Boḥārī is translating the actual tales and conversations which are vital to the narrative that he is most vivid and expressive. One can imagine that he himself had both heard and related orally many anecdotes, for the greatest charm of his tales is that they read as though spoken by a master storyteller. The choice of words is natural and unforced and he varies the sentence length, perhaps completely unpremeditatedly, according to the degree of interest aroused in the reader by the story-line. For this reason the conversations seem 'real', which can be said of none of the other versions studied in this thesis - with the possible exception of Ahmed Midhat's Hulāsa-yī Hūmayūn-nāma of the late nineteenth century.

On the other hand, when al-Boḥārī is dealing with abstract concepts his Kalīla va Dimna takes on a completely new character; his sentences become long and convoluted and the ideas tend to be rather muddled.

Arberry has noted that Hocvīrī, a contemporary of al-Boḥārī, had great difficulty writing such works as the Kasf al-Mahcūb because Persian was not sufficiently developed in so sophisticated

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(1) Loc. cit.

a subject as Sufism to make for ease of expression.<sup>(1)</sup> Although the philosophical arguments in Kalīla va Dimna are admittedly simple in comparison, both Naṣrollāh and al-Boḥārī were working with a relatively young prose language and were thus bound to meet similar obstacles.

Al-Boḥārī, moreover, was clearly not the master of expression in complex matters that Naṣrollāh was. Where Naṣrollāh's sentences seem almost naturally to punctuate themselves, al-Boḥārī's only occasionally do so, and usually not with such clarity.

Naṣrollāh always varies the length of his sentences and inserts Arabic and Persian verse to illustrate his points; al-Boḥārī never includes verse and apparently makes little conscious effort to vary the weight of sentence elements, occasionally going on for many lines with repetitious parallel constructions.

The manuscript itself is for the most part quite legible with only the occasional smearing of ink obscuring the words. Unfortunately, however, it is defective, as there is a lacuna of several folios which Karatay apparently failed to notice. The manuscript must have been defective when placed in its present binding, which appears to be about two centuries old, for all the folios are secure and there is no hint of room for missing ones.

The lacuna only becomes apparent from the text itself, for the chapter of the Indian Shah Iblād and his Ministers breaks off in mid-sentence at the end of folio 113b, while folio 114a begins in mid-sentence in the chapter of the Prince and his

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(1) CPL, p.63.

Friends. Further, the colophon notes that the work consists of fifteen bābs; and while it is not certain which, if any, of the introductory chapters were considered bābs, of the fourteen non-introductory chapters usually found in Arabic versions only eleven are represented in this manuscript, two of them incompletely as noted above. (The three missing chapters are designated L, M and O in the cross-index.) Some Arabic manuscripts contain as many as three additional chapters, however, so it is entirely possible that the fifteenth chapter originally in YX777 was one of these, the most likely being the chapter of the ~~Mouse King and His Ministers.~~<sup>(1)</sup> As the chapters that must have been contained in the missing folios are all short, the extent of the lacuna can be considered fairly small.

Another possibility exists with regard to the missing pages. Perhaps al-Boḥārī's translation never included chapters L, M and O, and he considered the four opening chapters, with the eleven from the body of the work, to be the fifteen bābs he notes in the colophon. If this were the case, then the only missing folios would be those from the two defective chapters noted previously and the manuscript would be nearly complete. Given that YX777 was bound defectively so many years ago, however, there seems little likelihood that the missing folios will ever come to light and solve the mystery.

In spite of the defectiveness of the manuscript, this translation of Kalīla wa-Dimna by al-Boḥārī is of great interest

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(1) Theodor Nöldeke, Die Erzählung vom Mäusekönig und seinen Ministern. Göttingen, 1879.

as a rare example of twelfth century Persian prose from an early Atabeg court. The work itself is surprisingly clear, simple and unaffected, doubtless reflecting the level of sophistication of the court for which it was produced. Furthermore, because so few literary works survived the Mongol invasions, this manuscript as a unicum is a significant discovery and should be a welcome contribution to the study of early Persian literature and its orthography.

Hosayn Vā'iz Kāṣifī

The supremacy of Nasrollāh's Kalīla va Dimna-yi Bahrāmshāhī in Persian prose remained virtually unchallenged for nearly three and a half centuries, and it was only during the reign of the Timurid Abo 'l-Ġazī Soltān Hosayn b. Mansūr, 'Hosayn Baykarā', (875/1470-911/1505) that a new and much more florid version of Kalīla wa-Dimna was written. The author of this version, based upon Nasrollāh's text, was Mollā Kamālo 'd-Dīn Hosayn Vā'iz Kāṣifī Sabzivārī (d. 910/1505), who already enjoyed a reputation as a gifted and prolific Islamic writer and scholar.<sup>(1)</sup>

H<sup>v</sup>āndamīr, a contemporary of Kāṣifī, notes that that author was accomplished in every field of knowledge and was without equal in the science of astronomy/astrology. Because of his great

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(1) Although the exact chronology is uncertain, other works written by Kāṣifī include: Ahlāk-i Mohsinī, Rauzat as-Ṣohadā, Tafsīr-i Hosaynī, Cavāhir at-Tafsīr li-Tohfati 'l-Amīr, Mahzano 'l-Inṣā', Ṣahīfa-yi Ṣahī and Sabḥ-i Kāṣifiya.

learning in religion and his resonant voice, Kāṣifī gained fame as a preacher (vā'iz) and teacher in the mosques and madrasas of several cities in Ḥorāsān, most notably Herat. There he would have come into contact with many of the learned men of his age, including such notables as Mīr 'Alī Ṣīr Navā'ī, Mīr-ḥ<sup>v</sup>and, Ḥ<sup>v</sup>āndamīr, Daulatṣāh Samarkandī and Cāmī. Kāṣifī's own son, Fahro 'd-Dīn 'Alī, also gained pre-eminence as an author. (1)

Kāṣifī dedicated his rendering of the Kalīla va Dimna-yi Bahrāmsāhī to Soltān Ḥosayn's vizier, Amīr Ṣayḥ Nizāmo 'd-Daula wa-'d-Dīn Ahmad Sohaylī, naming the composition the Anvār-i Sohaylī, often translated, perhaps misleadingly, as The Lights of Canopus. (2) In so re-naming this collection of fables, Kāṣifī was the first writer since their translation into Pahlavi to abandon the title Kalīla and Dimna. He had some justification, for the two jackals Kalīla and Dimna appear in only two of the bābs. De Sacy points out that this change must have been a reflection of Kāṣifī's esteem for the minister and appreciation of his patronage of the arts. (3)

In spite of the fact that Kāṣifī relied heavily upon

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(1) Ḥ<sup>v</sup>āndamīr, op. cit., pp.345-46.

(2) Sohayl is the Arabic name for the star Canopus, from which Ṣayḥ Ahmad formed his mahlas. The title Anvār-i Sohaylī is, therefore, a play on words which is totally lost in 'The Lights of Canopus'. Daulatṣāh Samarkandī in his Tazkirato 's-So'arā (ed. Moḥammad 'Abbāsī. Tehran, 1337 šamsī. pp.575-79) devotes a section to the praise of Ṣayḥ Ahmad Sohaylī.

(3) Syl, Mémoire Historique, p.44.

Nasrollāh's version while writing his own, the Anvār-i Sohaylī represents a radically different approach to the work, for in addition to a mere change of name, Kāṣifī re-organized the outline of the work by deleting some stories, adding a great many more and expanding many of those adopted from Nasrollāh's text. More specifically, he abandoned all the preliminary chapters (i.e. Ibn Mukaffa's introduction [D], the mission of Borzūy to India [C], the biography of Borzūy [E], and the spurious 'Alī b. Ṣāh preface [B]) and replaced them with a new preface containing dedications, a recent history of Kalīla wa-Dimna, and a table of contents. The first bāb of the Anvār-i Sohaylī is divided into two parts, the first of which is a rather brief history - composed by Kāṣifī - about Kalīla wa-Dimna's ancient origins, and the second the chapter of the Lion and the Bull [G] (the first of the Kalīla and Dimna bābs); both parts have been greatly expanded by the inclusion of new tales.

Except for the re-numbering of a few of the later bābs, Kāṣifī has left the remainder of the work essentially as he found it, but within the individual chapters he has added much new material and often re-worked the relationship of the individual tales to one another. Much of this is obvious from the cross-index.

Another way in which the Anvār-i Sohaylī is in striking contrast to Nasrollāh's work is the literary style and the nature of the material included to support the story line. Kāṣifī, in his own introduction, explains why he felt it necessary to improve upon Nasrollāh:

...through the introduction of strange words and by overstraining the language with the beauties of Arabic expressions and hyperbole in metaphors and similes of various kinds, and exaggeration and prolixity in words and obscurity of expression, the mind of the reader is kept back from enjoyment of the meaning of the book, and from apprehending the pith of the subject; and the disposition of the reader also is unable to perform the task of connecting the beginnings of the story with the terminations, and of adjusting the commencements of the discourse with the conclusions; and this circumstance will undoubtedly be a cause of disrelish and a source of ennui both to the reader and the hearer, especially in this age, so characterized by fastidiousness, in which the minds of its children have become nice to such a degree that they expect to perceive the meaning without its being decked out on the richly ornamented bridal-bed, as it were, of language.<sup>(1)</sup>

Kāṣifī goes on to note that this valuable work had fallen into obscurity and disuse - which is much the same comment as Nasrollāh made in the introduction to his version. The Anvār-i

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(1) East., pp.8-9.

Sohaylī, Kāṣifī continues, is an attempt:

...to bestow fresh adornment on the beauty of its tales of esoteric meaning, which were veiled and concealed by the curtain of obscure words and the wimple of difficult expressions, by presenting them on the stages of lucid style and the upper chambers of becoming metaphors, after a fashion that the eye of every examiner, without a glance of penetration or penetration of vision (sic!), may enjoy a share of the loveliness of those beauties of the ornamented bridal-chamber of narrative. (1)

Whether Kāṣifī achieved his stated aims or not is a point that has been contested for many years, with the majority of Western scholars pleading the case against; in opposition to this point of view, however, must be placed the enduring popularity of the work among Persian readers for over four centuries, a fact borne out by the large number of manuscripts and published editions which are to be found. The Anvār-i Sohaylī may, in fact, be said to have left the Kalīla va Dimna-yi Bahrāmsāhī in eclipse. (2)

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(1) East, pp.10-11.

(2) Manuscripts of the Anvār-i Sohaylī are to be found in virtually every major collection; until the end of the nineteenth century lithographed copies seem to have appeared regularly in Iran and India.



Typical of the views of Western scholars concerning the Anvār-i Sohaylī is that of E.G. Browne, who says that the work is 'florid and verbose', that 'this wordy and bombastic writer' has 'embroidered and expanded' the book,<sup>(1)</sup> and:

...in general it is full of absurd exaggerations, recondite words, vain epithets, far-fetched comparisons, and tasteless bombast, and ~~represents to perfection the worst style of~~ those florid writers who flourished under the patronage of the Timurids in North-Eastern Persia and Transoxania during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries of our era, and who, unfortunately, passing with Babar into India, became models and exemplars to the bombast-loving people of that country.<sup>(2)</sup>

In the same tenor, Edward B. Eastwick, who completed the first English translation of the entire Anvār-i Sohaylī in 1854, mentions in his preface (or apologia?) that:

...those very characteristics of style, which form its chiefest beauties in the eye of Persian taste, will appear to the European

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(1) Edward G. Browne, A History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion (A.D. 1265-1502). Cambridge, 1920. p.504.

(2) LHP, II, pp.352-53.

reader as ridiculous blemishes. The undeviating equipoise of bi-propositional sentences, and oftentimes their length and intricacy; the hyperbole and sameness of metaphor, and the rudeness and unskilfulness of the plots of some of the stories, cannot but be wearisome and repulsive to the better and simpler judgement of the West.<sup>(1)</sup>

Eastwick goes on to declare how silly many of the descriptions appear and says that 'these absurdities are so prominent that they would probably induce the generality of readers to close the book in disgust.'<sup>(2)</sup>

It must also be pointed out, however, that Eastwick later writes that the work contains 'many beautiful thoughts, many striking and original ideas forcibly expressed.'<sup>(3)</sup>

After noting Eastwick's objections to the work, Arberry writes:

It would have been more accurate to speak of the appeal of this book to a debased Persian taste; for Kāshifī's style bears the unmistakable hallmark of aesthetic corruption, and would have been contemptuously spurned by

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(1) East., p.ix.

(2) Loc. cit.

(3) Loc. cit.

a generation that had never known Juvainī and Vassāf as it is now rejected by a public educated to appreciate older and austerer models. (1)

In a like manner, Rypka adds that Kāṣifī 'satisfied the baroque taste of the Timurid period with his absurdly high-flown Anvār-i Sohaylī.' (2) T.W. Arnold concurs, saying that the work is 'written in a very artificial style, overladen with rhetorical ornament, and on this account has been much admired in the east.' (3)

Fortunately, however, not every Western scholar has condemned the Anvār-i Sohaylī; Sir William Jones mentions in A Grammar of the Persian Language (1771) that Kāṣifī's version of Kalīla wa-Dimna is 'the most excellent book in the language' and that it contains 'fourteen beautiful chapters.' (4)

Similarly, Sylvestre de Sacy describes at length in the 'Mémoire Historique' of his Arabic edition of Kalīla wa-Dimna why he appreciates the Anvār-i Sohaylī:

[Caschéfi] ne s'est pas contenté de supprimer

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(1) CPL, p.404.

(2) Rypka, p.223.

(3) T.W. Arnold, 'Kāshifī, Husain Wā'iz'. EI.

(4) Sir William Jones, A Grammar of the Persian Language. London, 1771. (Facsimile reprint) Menston, England, 1969. p.xx. One of the lessons in this grammar is a short tale from the Anvār-i Sohaylī.

ou de changer tout ce qui pouvoit arrêter un grand nombre de lecteurs, il a encore ajouté au mérite primitif de l'ouvrage, en y insérant un grand nombre de vers empruntés de divers poëts, et en employant constamment ce style mesuré et cadencé, ce parallélisme des idées et des expressions, qui, joint à la rime, constitue la prose poétique des Orientaux, et qui, ajoutant un charme inexprimable aux pensées justes et solides, diminue beaucoup ce que les idées plus ingénieuses que vraies, les métaphores outrées, les hyperboles extravagantes, trop fréquentes dans les écrits des Persans, ont de rebutant et de ridicule pour le goût sévère et délicat des Européens. Quoique le style de Hosainne soit pas exempt de ces défauts, on lit et on relit avec un plaisir toujours nouveau son ouvrage, comme le Gulistan de Saadi. (1)

Interestingly, Jones and de Sacy are the only Western scholars mentioned above who did not live during the present century, for it should be remarked that such negative judgements by Westerners as just noted are almost entirely useless and irrelevant to the purpose of modern literary criticism. It is presumptuous - if not, indeed, fatuous - for a man of our time,

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(1) Syl, Mémoire Historique, p.43.

and particularly one of different cultural origins, to present value judgements on a work which has for so many centuries held the affection and admiration of the people for whom it was written.<sup>(1)</sup>

The task of the student of literature is to accept the popularity of the work as the basis from which he will proceed toward an understanding of the qualities which assured it its wide and continued acceptance, and to use the observations resulting from such study in an attempt to formulate notions of the aesthetic underlying the Islamic cultures of the East in their various manifestations. What this aesthetic may have been, it is still too early to define; although there seems to be an essential relationship between the poetry and prose and all the other products of artistic endeavour of each period. The unifying and underlying relationship is to be found in that spiritual awareness in the individual which is inadequately designated 'a sense of beauty'.

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- (1) It is rather amazing to find these sentiments echoed by Browne in his discussion of 'Attār, Sanā'ī and Rūmī, for he writes:  
(LHP, p.506)

...in all these matters...native taste must be taken as the supreme criterion, since it is hardly possible for a foreigner to judge with the same authority as a critic of the poet's own blood and speech; and, though I personally may derive greater pleasure from the poems of 'Irāqī than from those of Sanā'ī, I have no right to elevate such personal preference into a general dogma.

Finally, a dissenting view of a modern-day Iranian concerning the Anvār-i Sohaylī is that of 'Abdo 'l-'Azīm Karīb, who notes that the differences between the versions of Nasrollāh and Kāṣifī are major ones because:

Kitāb-i Anvār-i Sohaylī dar zamān-i inhitāt-o-  
tanazzol-i Fārsī inṣā soda va isti'ārāt-o-  
taṣbihāt-i nā-huṣṣ va takallofātī ki dar ān  
ba-kār rafta ast fauko 'l-'āda az kadr-i ān  
kāsta. (1)

First published in its entirety (with Persian text) in London in 1836, the Anvār-i Sohaylī has been printed repeatedly during the ensuing century and a half. Many of these editions have been Indian, being produced in Cawnpore, Calcutta, Bombay, Lucknow and Lahore, but the work has also been published in Berlin and Tehran. Western translations include those into English by Edward B. Eastwick (Hertford, 1854) and Arthur N. Wollaston (London, 1904) - who also made an abridged translation for younger readers, entitled Tales within Tales (London, 1909) - and that into French by G. Gaulman (Paris, 1895). (2)

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(1) NasG, p.x.

(2) For further editions and translations see V. Chauvin, Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux Arabes. Liège and Leipzig, 1897. II, p.29. Also H.F. Hofman, Turkish Literature: a Bio-bibliographical Survey. Utrecht, 1969. Section III, part 1, vol. IV, p.40.

The version principally used in this research has been that published by the Amīr Kabīr Press (Tehran, 1336 šamsī) which is based upon an edition first printed in Bombay in 1270 kamārī and reprinted in Berlin in 1301 šamsī.

Abū Faḏl 'Allāmī

The Moghul Emperor Akbar (963/1556-1014/1605) would probably have agreed with the more outspoken of the later Western critics of the style of the Anvār-i Sohaylī, for it is known that he commissioned at least two new Persian renderings of Kalīla wa-Dimna. The first and more important of these is the 'Iyār-i Dāniş, completed in 996/1588 by Şayḥ Abū Faḏl b. Mobārak 'Allāmī (958/1551-1011/1602) who was a noted historian and one of Akbar's closest advisors. The second is the Pančāhyāna, a recently discovered direct translation from the Sanscrit into Persian done by one Moştafā Ḥālikdād 'Abbāsī, apparently a member of Akbar's court.<sup>(1)</sup> As this latter work did not pass by way of the Pahlavi to Ibn Mukaffa', it is of an entirely different tradition from the 'Iyār-i Dāniş, which is heavily based upon the Anvār-i Sohaylī.

Abū Faḏl is most famous for his composition of the three-volumed Akbar-nāma, a copious history of the life and times of that Emperor, but he is also the author of such diverse works as the Ā'in-i Akbarī, a monācat, a preface to the Tārīḥ-i Alfī (which

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(1) The discovery of this work in New Delhi is described by Tara Chand and S.A.H. Abidi in 'Panchākhyāna', Islamic Culture 34 (1965). pp.29-39.

is now lost), a translation of the Mahābhārata, and various collections of letters.<sup>(1)</sup> Scholarship ran in Abū Faḏl's family, for his father was the renowned scholar Ṣayḥ Mobārak Nāgaurī and his brother Fayḏī a noted poet, but, as with two of his predecessors in Kalīla wa-Dimna translation, Abū Faḏl was to die violently, assassinated at the command of Akbar's son Salīm, the future Ṣāh Cahāngīr.

In the introduction to his 'Iyār-i Dāniš', Abū Faḏl briefly relates the history of the book of Kalīla wa-Dimna and tells that when the celebrated Akbar discovered the Anvār-i Sohaylī he was immediately impressed with its beauty and elegance, yet commissioned another version because:

Agar-či Anvār-i Sohaylī ba-nisbat-i Kalīla wa Dimna maṣḥūr ba-zabān-i ahl-i rūzgār ast amma hanūz az 'ibārāt-i 'Arab-o-isti'ārāt-i 'Acam ḥālī nīst, bāyad ki ba'z-i loḡāt-i andāḡta va darāz-i naḡṣ-hā-yi soḡan-i pardāḡta ba-'ibārati vāḡiḡ ba-ham-ān tartīb nigāṣta āyad tā fā'ida-yi ān 'ām ṣavad va maḡsūd tamām gardad; ba bar hokm-i pādṣāḡ, ki farman-i Ilāhī ast, kitāb-i mazkūr-rā ba-dastūr-i Anvār-i Sohaylī tartīb dāda āmad, līkin dū bāb-rā ki Maulānā Hoṣayn-i Vā'iz az Kalīla wa Dimna-yi maṣḥūr andāḡta būd dar-īn kitāb āvarda ṣod.<sup>(2)</sup>

(1) Nurul Hasan, 'Abu 'l-Fadl 'Allāmī', EI<sup>2</sup>.

(2) Abu 8/4-9.



In his Ā'in-i Akbarī Abū Faẓl again discusses his 'Iyār-i Dāniş', stating that the Emperor had ordered the new translation because Kāşifī's Anvār-i Sohaylī

...is a masterpiece of practical wisdom, but is full of rhetorical difficulties; and though Nasrullāh-i Mustawfī and Mawlānā Husayn-i Wā'iz have translated it into Persian, their style abounds in rare metaphors and rare words. (1)

In spite of the foregoing, however, it would seem that Abū Faẓl took on the task of re-writing the revered Anvār-i Sohaylī with some trepidation, for comparison of that work with the 'Iyār-i Dāniş' reveals few positive changes in the work and numerous deletions. Perhaps Abū Faẓl himself felt that it was most presumptuous for anyone to tamper with the widely-praised Anvār-i Sohaylī and it was only Akbar who wanted a simpler version. This view receives some support from the discovery that the Shah, even after the completion of the 'Iyār-i Dāniş', commissioned yet another new rendering, this time the above-noted Pançāhyāna, and commanded that it, too be 'in plain and simple language'. (2) He had evidently not been pleased with the 'Iyār-i Dāniş' despite his certain respect for Abū Faẓl.

One modern Iranian view of the 'Iyār-i Dāniş' is that

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(1) Ed. and tr. H. Blochmann. Calcutta 1873; 1927. p.112.

(2) Manuscript of Pançāhyāna, f.6. Quoted by Tara Chand and S.A.H. Abidi, op. cit., p.33.

expressed by Moḥammad Ca'far Maḥcūb:

Insā-yi kitāb [-i 'Iyār-i Dāniš] bisyār sādavo-motavassit ast va dar ān loḡāt-i 'Arabī-yi moškil kam-tar mī-tavān yāft. 'Ibārat-hā-yi rakik va dārā-yi za'f-i ta'līf, va ḥaṭā-hā-yi dastūrī-vo-matba'ī dar kitāb farāvān ast va sabk-i nigāriš-i ān mānand-i dīgar matn-hā-yi Fārsī ast ki dar Hindūstān nigāšta āmada ast. (1)

Other than Bahār noting very briefly that Abū Faḡl "tahzībī sāhta va 'Iyār-i Dāniš' nām nihāda ast", (2) very few native writers of Persian have expressed opinions about the work.

Among Westerners H. Blochmann, in discussing Abū Faḡl's style and personality in writings other than his 'Iyār-i Dāniš', refers to his "trustworthiness" and "his marvellous powers of expression", then notes Abū Faḡl's fairness and love of truth. (3) Quite the opposite view is expressed by H. Beveridge, who states that in editing and translating the Akbar-nāma:

...the work has not been very congenial, for Abū Faḡl is not an author for whom one can feel much sympathy or admiration. He was a great flatterer and unhesitatingly suppressed

(1) DBKD, p.208.

(2) Sabk, II, p.253.

(3) Blochmann, op. cit., pp.vii-viii.

or distorted facts. His style, too, seems - at least to Western eyes - to be quite detestable, being full of circumlocutions, and both turgid and obscure. He is often prolix, and often unduly concise and darkly allusive. His one merit - and it is one which he specially claims for himself - is his laboriousness. He was an unwearied worker.... (1)

In addition to revising the text of the Anvār-i Sohaylī, Abū Faḏl restores some of those verses found in Naṣrollāh's text but which are omitted by Kāṣifī. As is clear in the cross-index (Appendix B to this thesis), Abū Faḏl begins with an introduction entirely his own, ignores the chapter recounting Borzūy's mission to India [C], but adopts Ibn Mukaffa's preface [D] and Borzūy's Biography [E] from Naṣrollāh's version. This last chapter forms the first half of Abū Faḏl's bāb-i dovvom with Kāṣifī's own preface [F] making up the remainder. From this point the 'Iyār-i Dāniş closely follows the organization of the Anvār-i Sohaylī, until the final pages where Abū Faḏl includes a lengthy epilogue.

Probably because of its relative simplicity - for Persian was never more than a second language to India's educated class - the 'Iyār-i Dāniş found wide acceptance in India, though elsewhere it never achieved the acclaim accorded to Kāṣifī's work. Abū Faḏl's rendering was printed in Cawnpore in 1879, 1894 and 1902.

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(1) Calcutta, 1897. Unpaginated preface.

Kul Mes'ūd

The earliest Turkish translation of Kalīla wa-Dimna is based upon Nasrollāh's Persian rendering and dedicated to Bahā'ūd-Dīn Ġāzī Umūr Beg (734/1334-748/1348), the second ruler in the Aydın Oğlu dynasty of southwest Anatolia. But one of many minor dynasties holding emirates in pre-Ottoman Anatolia, the Aydın Oğlu ruled the area including the modern cities of Aydın, Denizli and İzmir from 707/1308 until 829/1426.<sup>(1)</sup>

In the text of his Kelīle ve Dimne the translator styles himself 'Kul Mes'ūd', but gives us no more information; since he is never mentioned in any other source we can do no more than speculate on who he might have been and what was his background. J.H. Mordtmann suggests that he is in fact the same Mes'ūd b. Ahmed who wrote the Turkish Süheyl-ü-Nevbehār;<sup>(2)</sup> M. Fuad Köprülüzade and Kilisli Rifat both disagree, however, and are joined by Ananjasz Zajaczkowski in pointing out that the styles of the two works are so vastly different that they could never have been composed by the same author.<sup>(3)</sup>

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- (1) Works dealing with this dynasty are the following: Himmet Akın, Aydın Oğulları Tarihi hakkında bir Araştırma. Ankara, 1946; 1968. M. Fuad Köprülüzade, 'Aydın Oğulları Tarihine Ait'. TM 2(1926). pp.417-26. Mükrimin Halil Yinanç, 'Aydın: Tarih'. İA.
- (2) Quellenwerke des islamischen Schrifttums. Hanover, 1925. I, pp.11-12.
- (3) Kilisli Rifat, 'Notlar ve vesikalar: Süheyl-ü-Nevbehār dair'. TM 2(1926). p.407. M. Fuad Köprülüzade, 'Kitabiyat Tenkid-ü-Tahlilleri'. TM 2(1926). p.487. KulZ, p.191.

Beyond its having occurred during the lifetime of Umūr Beg, the date of composition of Kul Mes'ūd's Kelile ve Dimne is not known for certain. Zajaczkowski, after Köprülüzade, guesses that the translation may have been done as early as 730/1330 while Umūr Beg's father Mehmed was still reigning - and while Umūr Beg himself would have been a governor in İzmir.<sup>(1)</sup> The two scholars base their view on the appearance of the word cuvān twice in the manuscript among titles of Umūr Beg.<sup>(2)</sup>

No matter when the translation actually took place, it would be reasonable to assume that the level of cultural sophistication at the Aydın Oğlu court was not high and that few, if any, individuals could have appreciated Persian works or non-Kur'ānic Arabic. Turkish literature, moreover, was virtually non-existent during that period. For such people, therefore, Kul Mes'ūd's Kelile ve Dimne would have been almost a first venture into the world of literature and an opportunity to learn something of the wonderful and mysterious Persian culture to the east. We cannot know what reception Kul Mes'ūd and his translation found, but the work must have contributed much to the infant art of Turkish literature.

Two manuscript copies of Kelile ve Dimne are known to exist, one in the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul (Lâleli Bölümü yazmaları No. 1897, dated 895/1490) and another in the Bodleian

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(1) Akın, op. cit., pp.31-34.

(2) Köprülüzade, TM 2(1926). pp.7, 488. KulZ, p.191.

Library in Oxford (Marsh 180, undated).<sup>(1)</sup> The first of these is the basis for a study with notes and glossary, concentrating on three chapters published in transcription, by Zajaczkowski,<sup>(2)</sup> and for a single story published by Fahir İz.<sup>(3)</sup> Zajaczkowski's text is the one chiefly used in the present research, although occasional reference has been made to the Bodleian manuscript.

Finally, according to Pertsch a Turkish versification of Kalīla wa-Dimna exists in Gotha, apparently completed during the latter half of the eighth Islamic century.<sup>(4)</sup> Ethé feels that the Turkish prose original for the work must have been Kul Mes'ūd's Kelīle ve Dimne.<sup>(5)</sup>

### 'Alī Çelebi

As is true of so many of those who produced versions of Kalīla wa-Dimna, virtually nothing is known of the early life of 'Alī Çelebi except that he was born in Filibe (the ancient Philippopolis, nowadays Plovdiv in Bulgaria) as 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn 'Alī b. Ṣālih. Through a variety of sources it is possible to

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(1) The Süleymaniye copy is described in KulZ, pp.191-92, and the Bodleian copy in PTHP, II, columns 1182-84 - although Ethé mistakenly labels the work as "Eastern Turkish".

(2) KulZ.

(3) Fahir İz, Eski Türk Edebiyatında Nesir. Istanbul, 1964. pp.361-68.

(4) Pertsch, III, pp.168-69.

(5) Actes, pp.243-45.

piece together much of his life although the dates thus found are frequently suspect.<sup>(1)</sup> He must have shown promise as a student, for it is recorded that 'Alī's education was completed under the tutelage of the highly respected 'Abdū 'l-Vāsi' Efendi, a scholar who had formerly had a most distinguished career as kāzī of Bursa (a post which 'Alī himself would later hold), as kāzī-'asker of Anatolia and, later, as kāzī-'asker of Rūmili; as a result of this contact 'Alī Çelebi was given the lakab of 'Vāsi' 'Alīsi', literally 'Vāsi's 'Alī'.<sup>(2)</sup> It can be assumed that 'Alī had been born by the turn of the 10th/16th centuries, because records indicate that 'Abdū 'l-Vāsi' retired from his teaching post in 929/1523 in order to spend the remainder of his life (fifteen years) in Mecca.<sup>(3)</sup>

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- (1) Ahmed b. Mustafā Taşköprüzāda, Sakā'iku 'n-Nu'māniyya. (Printed in margins of Ibn Hallikān's Wafiyātu 'l-'Ayan.) Cairo, 1310. II, p.16. Mecdī Efendi, Sakā'iku 'n-Nu'māniyye (supplemented Turkish translation). Istanbul, 1269. pp.486-87. Seyyid İsmā'īl Belig Efendi, Güldeste-yi Riyāz-i 'Irfān. Hudāvendigār, 1302, p.297. Mustafā b. Ahmed 'Alī, Kūnhū 'l-Ahbār. Unpublished portion, Süleymaniye Library, Es'ad Efendi No.2162. f.401b.
- (2) Several authors have mistakenly rendered this name as the grammatically meaningless 'Alī Vāsi', these writers being Ethé (Actes, p.242), Brockelmann (op.cit.) and Saadet S. Çagatay in Türk Lehçeleri Örnekleri. Ankara, 1950. p.250.
- (3) Mehmed Sureyyā, Sicill-i 'Osmanī. Istanbul, 1314. p.354. Taşköprüzāda, op. cit. I, p.621. Mecdī Efendi, op. cit. p.394. Mustafā 'Alī, op.cit. f.268b. Latīfī, Tezkere-yi Şu'arā. Istanbul, 1314. p.354.

It was probably at the recommendation of 'Abdū 'l-Vāsi' that 'Alī's first appointment was to a teaching position in the Bayezid Paşa medrese in Bursa, an unusual post for so young a scholar. He cannot have remained there for long, however, for he was transferred first to the Ferhādiyye medrese and then to the Kapluca medrese, both in Bursa, and it is known that the professor he replaced in the latter institution, Üskübī İshāk Efendi, had taken up a position in Edirne by 933/1527.<sup>(1)</sup> Ten years after that date 'Alī himself travelled to Edirne in order to teach at the Halebiyye medrese, but soon transferred his services to the 'atīke medrese of the Üç Şerefeli Mosque nearby where, 'Alī writes in the preface to the Hümāyūn-nāma, he set about translating the Anvār-i Sohaylī into Turkish.<sup>(2)</sup> It seems that during the same year 'Alī again accepted an invitation to teach, this time in one of the medreses of the Fātihiyye Mosque in Istanbul, and it was there that he was probably first dubbed 'Vāsi' 'Alīsi' in order to avoid being confused with a fellow-teacher, Mü'eyyedzāde 'Alī b. Şeyh Haccī 'Alī, who came to be known as Eyyüb 'Alīsi.<sup>(3)</sup> Two years later 'Alī again took up residence in Edirne

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(1) Mecdī Efendi, op. cit. p.468. Latīfī, op. cit. p.89. Sehī, Heşt Bihişt. Istanbul, 1325. p.45.

(2) 'Alī, p.11.

(3) Belīg Efendi states that 'Alī made this move during the following year, 945/1538, but other sources record that Eyyüb 'Alīsi died in 944. Taşköprüzāda, op.cit. II, p.21. Muştafā 'Alī, op.cit. f.402a. Mecdī Efendi, op.cit. p.490. It is also recorded that the person 'Alī replaced in the medrese took up the post of kāzī of Bursa during that same year. Taşköprüzāda, op.cit. II, p.6. Mecdī Efendi, op.cit. p.477.



and replaced Sinān Çelebi as professor at the Bayezidiyye medrese there.

It must have been during this last appointment that 'Alī presented his completed Hümāyūn-nāma to the court of Süleymān, for according to the eye-witness account given by Ramažānzāde Mehmed Beg to Muṣṭafā b. Aḥmed 'Alī,<sup>(1)</sup> 'Alī Çelebi brought two completed copies to the Grand Vizier, Luṭfī Paşa, stating that the translation had required twenty years. Luṭfī Paşa reputedly declined the proffered work and chided 'Alī for not having devoted his efforts to more worthwhile causes; he at last begrudgingly agreed to accept the two copies, one of which he sent in to Süleymān and the other he gave away. The Sultan, the story continues, was so impressed with the Hümāyūn-nāma that on the following day he appointed 'Alī Çelebi to the post of kāzī of Bursa - a most extraordinary reward for an author. When Luṭfī Paşa later attempted to persuade the Sultan to reconsider the appointment, Süleymān stated bluntly that he recognized the author's qualities even if Luṭfī Paşa did not.

That 'Alī's appointment as kāzī of Bursa actually took place is beyond dispute, although Belīğ Efendi states that this event occurred in 949/1542-3. If the above anecdote is indeed true, however, the fact that Luṭfī Paşa held the post of Grand Vizier from 946/1539 until 948/1542 casts doubt upon that date.<sup>(2)</sup>

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(1) Muṣṭafā 'Alī, op.cit. f.286b. This source incorrectly states, however, that 'Alī Çelebi was at the Fātihiyye at the time.

(2) Luṭfī Paşa, Tevārīḥ-i Āl-i 'Osmān. Istanbul, 1341. pp.370, 374, 386.

At any rate, there seems little doubt that 'Alī b. Ṣāliḥ died and was buried in Bursa in 950/1543, apparently leaving no literary legacy other than his masterly Hümāyūn-nāma.<sup>(1)</sup>

The circumstances surrounding the composition of the Hümāyūn-nāma merit some investigation. In his own introduction to the translation, 'Alī states that he had long been interested in putting the Anvār-i Sohaylī into Turkish, but only found an opportunity to do so when he took up his professorship at the 'atīke of the Üç Şerefeli in Edirne.<sup>(2)</sup> According to Belīğ Efendi's account of 'Alī's career, however, his stay at that institution was so short that he would hardly have had the time to begin such a weighty venture. Furthermore, the anecdote related above quotes 'Alī as having said that he was engaged on the Hümāyūn-nāma for twenty years, but this statement can be interpreted in a variety of ways. These discrepancies will probably never be reconciled.

It would seem likely that 'Alī first conceived of the project while a student, perhaps independently or perhaps at the specific suggestion of his professor, 'Abdū 'l-Vāsi'. According to both Seḫr and Ferīdūn Beg, 'Abdū 'l-Vāsi' spent some years in Herat, during which time he studied under Aḥmad Taftāzānī and became sufficiently acquainted with the Sultan Ḥosayn Baykarā to carry a letter of recommendation from that monarch

(1) The date is wrongly given as 905 in Bursalı Mehmed Tāhir, 'Osmanlı Mü'ellifleri. Istanbul, 1338. II, p.305.

(2) 'Alī, pp.10-12.

back to Istanbul.<sup>(1)</sup> Mediaeval Islamic courts being what they were, it is probable that 'Abdū 'l-Vāsi' would also have met a contemporary writer at that court, namely the aged Ḥosayn Vā'iz Kāṣifī, author of the Anvār-i Sohaylī. There exists even the possibility that 'Abdū 'l-Vāsi' was for a time a student of Kāṣifī and that the Persian author himself imbued the Ottoman with an enthusiasm for the Anvār-i Sohaylī, a fascination which may have been passed on directly to 'Alī Çelebi. Although such a meeting between Kāṣifī and the young Turkish scholar may never actually have occurred, the mere fact that 'Alī's future teacher was a student in Kāṣifī's city under people at the same court must have influenced 'Abdū 'l-Vāsi's (and, therefore, 'Alī's) view of the Anvār-i Sohaylī. Here lie the seeds of 'Alī's long interest in translating the work.

Sylvestre de Sacy describes 'Alī's method in the Ḥumayūn-nāma thus:

La traduction Turque d'Ali a dû lui couter peu de peine. Elle est le plus souvent calquée sur la version Persane de Hosain Vaëz, dont elle conserve fréquemment toutes les expressions. La plupart des poésies Persanes dont Hosain Vaëz a embelli l'Anvari Sohalli se retrouvent dans le Homayoun-namèh. Assez souvent néanmoins le traducteur Turc a

(1) Se hi, op.cit. p.29. Se hī implies that this journey was a kind of exile. Letters of recommendation from Taftāzānī and Ḥosayn Baykārā are published by Ferīdūn Beg, Münse'atū 's-Selātīn. Istanbul, 1274-1275. I, pp.359-61, 364-66.

supprimé les vers Persans dont le sens a quelque obscurité, et il y a substitué des vers Turcs. Les changemens et les suppressions qu'il a faits, donnent en général, sauf un petit nombre d'exceptions, une bonne idée de son goût, et il étoit digne assurément de traduire un écrivain tel que Hosain. Pour entendre couramment le Homayoun-namèh, il est indispensable de bien savoir l'arabe et le persan, et il n'est pas nécessaire d'être très-avancé dans la connoissance de la langue Turque. Néanmoins il seroit à souhaiter qu'on imprimât le Homayoun-namèh, pour l'usage des personnes qui apprennent le turc. (1)

De Sacy's points are worthy of discussion, for while he recognizes 'Alī's talent as a translator, he also implies that there is not much originality to be found in the Hūmāyūn-nāma. Mecdī Efendi, in fact, agrees with this sentiment, for he notes that 'Alī was fortunate enough to have an original which was itself ornate and which facilitated 'Alī's task, while Mecdī himself had only the stark Arabic of the Ṣakā'ik with which to work. (2) It is true that 'Alī owes much in his version to the Anvār-i Sohaylī, but it is also true that he introduces a great amount of new

(1) Syl, Mémoire Historique, p.51.

(2) Mecdī Efendi, op.cit., p.487.

material, thereby supplementing almost every line of Kāşifî's. Through his application of the trebled grammatical rules of literary Ottoman and his insertion of key words and phrases, moreover, 'Alî totally transforms entire sentences of the Anvār-i Sohaylî, alters intricate sac' relationships and also varies the rhythm.

'Alî Çelebi must have been a keen student of the Anvār-i Sohaylî and a careful observer of every aspect of Kāşifî's style, for in his Hümâyün-nāma he applies all of the Persian author's methods, yet in so doing gives them a Turkish twist and succeeds in creating a work which is uniquely Ottoman. De Sacy is correct in saying that a knowledge of Persian and Arabic is essential to an understanding of the text - as, indeed, it is of virtually any Ottoman text of the period - but in the same way a thorough grounding in Turkish syntax and style is vital to a total appreciation of the Hümâyün-nāma, for it is through his complete mastery of Persian, Arabic and Turkish grammatical systems that 'Alî achieves a freedom and potential for expression perhaps greater than that of any of his predecessors in Kalîla wa-Dinna. Accompanying this increased potential, however, are numerous pitfalls with which the simultaneous use of more than one language abounds, and it was 'Alî's major accomplishment that he managed to avoid these and to produce a work as great as the Hümâyün-nāma.

It soon became apparent that Sultan Süleyman was not the only person who appreciated 'Alî's translation, for manuscript copies of the Hümâyün-nāma rapidly proliferated as the work became standard reading for educated Ottomans. Because of its verse content the work merited treatment during succeeding years in

various tezkeres, including those of 'Āşık Çelebi, Latîfî and even Kınâlızâda, all of whom agree that as a writer of prose 'Alî Çelebi was without peer in all of Rûm.<sup>(1)</sup> Later, 'Atâ'î praises the tezkere of Kınâlızâda by mentioning that it was inferior only to the Hümâyûn-nâma and the Ahlâk-i 'Alâ'î written by Kınâlızâda's own father, also named 'Alî Çelebi.<sup>(2)</sup>

More recently, however, Turks who are the products of a system of education far removed from that of 'Alî Çelebi have been less enthusiastic about the Hümâyûn-nâma. In 1311/1893-94, for example, Fâ'ik Reşâd was to write that 'Alî's mode of composition succeeds in delighting in spite of its notoriously old-fashioned style.<sup>(3)</sup> Ömer Rıza Doğrul is much more forceful in his opinions, for he writes in 1957 that the Hümâyûn-nâma:

...ancak Elsinei Selâsede bihakkın mütbahhir  
olan kimselerin anlıyabileceği koyu  
Osmanlıca ile yazılmış ve bugün ancak ihtisas  
sahiplerinin okumağa imkân bulacakları bir  
mahiyet almıştır.<sup>(4)</sup>

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- (1) 'Āşık Çelebi, Mesâ'ırü 's-Şu'arâ. Süleymaniye Library, 'Āşir Efendi No. 268. F.241a. Latîfî, op.cit. p.284.  
Kınâlızâda, Tezkeretü 's-Şu'arâ. British Library, Add.24,957. f.200a.
- (2) 'Atâ'î, Zeyl-i Şakâ'ık. Istanbul, 1268. p.288.
- (3) Eslâf. Istanbul, 1311. p.55
- (4) Doğ, p.5.

Doğrul's opinions, unfortunately, are probably shared by most educated Turks today.

Among Westerners, Brockelmann feels that 'Alī writes with a "luxuriousness of language", while Theodor Menzel finds his style "pompous and elegant" even though it was:

...regarded as one of the most important  
prose-works of the old school, a masterpiece  
which could not be equalled and a model of  
tasteful style and composition. (1)

The Hümāyūn-nāma was published in Būlāk three times (A.H.1251, 1252 and 1293) and has been translated on several occasions. The most famous European rendering is probably the French one begun by Galland, who wrote two volumes (Paris, 1724), and continued in three further volumes by Cardonne (Paris, 1778). There is also an early Spanish translation done by Domingo Garcia y Morra's (Madrid, 1654 and 1658). Translations of the Hümāyūn-nāma also exist in German, Dutch, Hungarian, Russian and modern Greek, as well as renderings in Āzeri, Kaşgar, Çağatay and Uzbek Turkish. (2)

In this research the Hümāyūn-nāma is represented principally by that version published in Istanbul in A.H.1293.

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(1) 'Wāsi' 'Alīsi', EI.

(2) Hofman, op. cit. pp.43-46.

'Osmānzāda Tā'ib

In the first quarter of the twelfth Islamic century, perhaps c. A.D.1705, the Hümāyūn-nāma of 'Alī Çelebi was abridged by Ahmed 'Osmānzāda Tā'ib, under the title Semār ül-Esmār, and presented to Sultan Ahmed III. The Istanbul family into which 'Osmānzāda was born in about 1070/1660 had had a history of scholarship and his father was secretary and treasurer to several vakf institutions in the capital, including that of the Süleymaniye. It is certain that the young Ahmed, because of the status of his family, would have received the best of educations.<sup>(1)</sup>

His name first appears in the records in 1099/1688 when he was appointed a müderris with a salary of forty akçes at the New Medrese of 'Osmān Efendi at the Nişānci Mosque in Kum Kapı, where he was to teach for about seven years. After a short period at another medrese, 'Osmānzāda accepted an invitation from the new governor of Syria, Kemānkeş Mehmed Paşa, to work as an assistant in the Kethüdā's office there. The following twenty years were to be rather unsettled, with the young scholar moving from medrese to medrese. In 1128/1716 he was offered a prestigious post at the Ayasofya Medrese and then, almost immediately, a

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- (1) The biographical material was taken largely from four sources, although the dates in the last of these are sometimes suspect: 'Alī Cānib, 'Re'īs-i Şā'irān, 'Osmānzāda Ahmed Tā'ib Efendi'. TM 2(1926). pp.103-29. Bursalı Mehmed Tāhir, op.cit. II, pp.116-17. Abdulkadir Karahan, 'Osman-zāde Tāib'. İA. Theodor Menzel, 'Othmān-zāde, Ahmed Tā'ib'. EI.



professorship at the Süleymaniye.

He left the Süleymaniye in 1129/1717 in order to take up duties as the kāzī of Aleppo, but upon being dismissed after only one year he returned to Istanbul and continued writing.

'Osmānzāda's literary and historical talents gradually came to be recognized and appreciated by Sultan Ahmed III who in 1133/1721, after being presented with a versified history, bestowed the title Re'īs-i Sā'irān upon the author. The following year 'Osmānzāda was further rewarded by being appointed to his final post, that of kāzī of Egypt. He occupied that office only for about a year, however, before dying in 1136/1724.

In spite of his chequered political and teaching career, 'Osmānzāda was a prolific writer who dabbled in a wide variety of subjects, as a partial list of his book titles indicates, for among his works are: a dīvān; Ḥadīkatu 'l-Vüzerā (biographies of the Grand Viziers); İcmāl-i Menākib-i Selāṭīn-i Āl-i 'Osmān; Fihrist-i Sāhān-i Āl-i 'Osmān (an abridged version of the preceding); a münş'āt; Sihhat-ābād; Kitābü 'l-Ahlākı 'l-Ahmedī (a translation of Hosayn Vā'iz Kāşifī's Ahlāk-i Mohsinī) and many others.

'Osmānzāda's Semār ül-Esmār is an abridgement and re-arrangement of 'Alī Çelebi's Hümāyūn-nāma.<sup>(1)</sup> In his new version, 'Osmānzāda adds very little to the text, but instead removes

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(1) Karahan (loc.cit.) writes that the author of the Hümāyūn-nāma is Kınālızāda (!) 'Alī Çelebi, earlier noted as the author of Ahlāk-ı 'Alā'ī (which, incidentally, is another work which 'Osmānzāda abridged).

material with the apparent intention of making the moral points of the tales easier to understand. Further he totally re-organizes the work so that the frame stories of all the chapters occupy the first half of the book and many - but not all - of the remaining tales are given in the form of an anthology in the second half.<sup>(1)</sup> Thus no story in the Semār ūl-Esmār runs smoothly into the next in the traditional Kalīla wa-Dimna way. 'Osmānzāda presents instead a series of abbreviated and disconnected stories from which most of the poetry and much of the sac and parallelism - such an integral feature of both the Anvār-i Sohaylī and the Hūmayūn-nāma - have been removed. This action, he notes in his preface,<sup>(2)</sup> is justified because all the rhetorical beauty and practical wisdom of the Hūmayūn-nāma is difficult to understand and appreciate because of its wording and length. It is 'Osmānzāda's intention to clarify the text by removing most of the non-essential material and by re-arranging the remainder in what he presumably felt was a more logical manner.

It must, of course, be recognized that 'Osmānzāda wrote almost two centuries after 'Alī Çelebi and so intended his version to be read by people with an educational and cultural background significantly different from that of 'Alī's contemporary audience. Because we can assume that 'Osmānzāda's style of writing, or re-writing, the Hūmayūn-nāma reflects in some way those changed conditions, there must have been a large number of educated Ottomans at that time who were incapable of comprehending the

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(1) This is made clear in the cross-index in Appendix B.

(2) Osm, pp.3-4.

literary works of 'Alī's generation.

The Semār ūl-Esmār was printed in Istanbul in 1256/1835-36 and was thus the first Turkish version of the collection of fables to be published. It is this printing which has been used in the present study.

Ahmed Midhat Efendi

The most recent Turkish version of Kalīla wa-Dimna studied in detail here is the Hulāsa-yı Hümāyūn-nāma completed and published in Istanbul in 1304/1886-87 by Ahmed Midhat Efendi. Ahmed, dubbed "the most important author of modern Turkey" by an admiring J. Oestrup,<sup>(1)</sup> was born into a poor family in Istanbul in 1260/1844 and lost his father while still young. His brother, Hāfiz Ağa, had political aspirations and in 1277/1861 attached himself to the retinue of Midhat Paşa, the family following behind. Ahmed, after having proved himself a diligent student in subjects including French, took up a clerical post in Midhat Paşa's government in Tuna (Danube) province and soon gained the governor's approval and was granted the use of the name Midhat. After running provincial newspapers in Tuna and Baghdad for the

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- (1) 'Ahmed Midhat'. EI. Other sources used in this introduction include the following: Kenan Akyüz, 'La littérature moderne de Turquie' in Louis Bazin et al., Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta. Wiesbaden, 1965. II, pp.494-500, 556-59. Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil, 'Ahmed Midhat Efendi'. İA. Bernard Lewis, 'Ahmad Midhat'. EI<sup>2</sup>.

Paşa, Ahmed returned to Istanbul to set up his own printing press.

In 1289/1872 the writer was banished to the Isle of Rhodes after he was seen by Sultan 'Abdū 'l-'Azīz to be working too closely with the Young Ottomans; but the downfall of the Sultan four years later enabled Ahmed to return to Istanbul. In the ensuing years he gained the approval of Sultan 'Abdū 'l-Hamīd and was eventually given a number of important positions, even representing the government at a congress of Orientalists in Stockholm.

Ahmed Midhat's downfall came with the Young Turk revolution in 1908, at which time he was relieved of all his offices and left with only his writing and some teaching duties. In 1331/1912 he died, leaving behind well over a hundred books of various genres, most of them novels and collections of stories but also including works of philosophy, history and ethics.

Oestrup writes that Ahmed Midhat's aims were to preserve the "pure Ottoman character" of written Turkish and to enable all Turks to obtain a general education.<sup>(1)</sup> Further, the author "hit on the extremely fortunate idea of introducing the colloquial speech of the Maddāhs (the public narrators) into higher literature by using it in his novels."<sup>(2)</sup> Kenan Akyüz supports this last point in particular, for he writes of "son goût intarissable pour la conversation".<sup>(3)</sup>

This use of everyday speech is to be noted in Ahmed Midhat's

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(1) Op. cit.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Akyüz, op. cit. p.495.

Hulāsa-yı Hümāyūn-nāma in that 'Alī Çelebi's work has been totally re-written in a relatively colloquial style. In this rendering, Midhat uses only the most common Persian and Arabic vocabulary and makes full use of the temporal and de-verbal forms now associated with Turkish. As for Midhat's desire to preserve pure Ottoman forms, his version of Kalīla impresses the reader the opposite way, for the sac' and parallelism so beloved of the Ottomans are almost totally absent from this work.

In his preface, Midhat writes that a normal person's expression of a few words becomes thirty-five or forty in 'Alī Çelebi. The author continues:

...fażıl Naşrullāhıñ tercüme-yi muğlakası  
Kitāb-ı Kelīle ve Dimneniñ şöhret-i  
kadīmesini naşıl mahve takrīb itmiş ise 'Alī  
Çelebi merhūmuñ tercüme-yi muğlakasınıñ  
destgāh-ı tab'-u-temsīlde yüz biñlerce  
hatālara duçar idilmesi dağı Hümāyūn-nāmeniñ  
şöhretini 'aşrımızda o nisbetde nesyen  
mensien hükmüne sokmuş....(1)

Midhat then goes on to say how his improved version is more worthy of the Sultan.

Even though the Hulāsa-yı Hümāyūn-nāma represents a radical departure from the style of 'Alī - and of 'Osmānzāda as well - the work is entertaining and was probably a success in the eyes of

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(1) Mid, p.8.

Ahmed Midhat. It obviously has met with the approval of one Selāhattin Alpay, for in 1972 he published a "new translation" of the collection of fables which, in fact, consists of nothing more than Midhat's text in Latin characters with modernized vocabulary.<sup>(1)</sup>

Sultan 'Abdü'l-Hamīd reportedly suppressed the 1304/1886-87 edition of Midhat's Hulāsa-yı Hümāyūn-nāma (the edition used in this research), perhaps because its passages outlining the conduct of the ideal monarch were considered inflammatory.<sup>(2)</sup>

#### TRANSCRIPTION SYSTEMS EMPLOYED

Because of the wide variety of texts studied in this thesis, the choice of a system of transliteration has presented a problem, for not only are three Middle Eastern languages represented, but several periods in two of those languages had to be dealt with in detail. In order to facilitate comparison of corresponding passages in the numerous versions of Kalīla wa-Dimna, it has been deemed necessary to make compromises in the transliteration of Persian and Arabic consonants so as to allow greater correspondence among renderings in the three languages.

#### Turkish

The transcription of Turkish is according to that employed in the İslam Ansiklopedisi and detailed in Türk İlmî Transkripsiyon

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(1) Alp.

(2) Doğ, p.7.

Kılavuzu (Istanbul, 1946). Slight alterations will occur in the study of older texts, particularly Kul Mes'ūd's Kelīle ve Dimne of the fourteenth century A.D. Modern texts are, of course, unaltered.

### Persian

Persian consonants and long vowels are represented by the same Roman characters as those in Turkish, but short vowels are indicated in the following manner: fatha as 'a', zamma as 'o' and kasra as 'i' - though it is recognized that this system does not always accurately represent accepted pronunciation of modern Persian. Another deviation from the norm occurs in the case of words such as دوست and تو, where the orthography is given precedence over pronunciation and the words are represented as 'tū' and 'dūst' respectively. Persian prefixes and suffixes are distinguished by hyphens, the exceptions being that the '-ān' plural for animates and inflected verb endings are treated as part of the original word, e.g. Na-mī-tavānam mojda-yi somā-rā ba-dūstān-i ma ba-gūyam. نمیتوانم مؤده شما را بدوستان ما بگویم. In izāfa constructions, a 'y' is introduced after words ending in vowels or vowel sounds, and this has been consistently followed even when the text shows the izāfa construction with a hamza.

### Arabic

Most Arabic consonants are treated as those of Turkish or Persian; the exceptions are ض and ث which are represented by 't' and 'd' respectively. Vowels are treated in the manner usual to Arabic, with 'a' for hamza, 'u' for damma and 'i' for kasra.

Table of the Consonants

	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Persian</u>	<u>Turkish</u>	initial <u>hamza</u> not represented
ء	ء	ء	ء	
ب	b	b	b	
پ	-	p	p	
ت	t	t	t	
ث	<u>t</u>	<u>s</u>	<u>s</u>	
ج	c	c	c	
ح	-	ç	ç	
خ	h	h	h	
د	h	h	h	
ر	d	d	d	
ز	<u>d</u>	<u>z</u>	<u>z</u>	
ر	r	r	r	
ز	z	z	z	
ژ	-	j	j	
س	s	s	s	
ش	ş	ş	ş	
ص	s	s	s	
ض	d	ž	z (d)	
ط	t	t	t	
ظ	z	z	z	
ع	ʿ	ʿ	ʿ	
غ	ğ	ğ	ğ	
ف	f	f	f	
ق	k	k	k	
ك	k	k	k	
گ	-	g	g	



	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Persian</u>	<u>Turkish</u>	
ن	-	-	ñ	sağır nūn
ل	l	l	l	
م	m	m	m	
ن	n	n	n	
و	w	v	v	
ه	h	h	h	
ی	y	y	y	
خو	-	h <sup>v</sup>	h <sup>v</sup>	

### Vowels

Vowels have been shown in the values conventional to the transcription of each language, the exception being that the graphically long 'o' in Persian is always shown as 'ū', even in the case of تو, which is represented as 'tū'. The 'hā-yi rasmiya' ( ا ), even when derived from the 'tā marbūta' of Arabic, is shown as 'a' in Persian and 'a' or 'e' in Turkish.

### Diphthongs

The diphthongs are represented as follows:

	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Persian</u>	<u>Turkish</u>	
ای	ay	ay	ey, ay	depending upon consonantal environment
او	au	au	ev, av	depending upon consonantal environment

### Proper Nouns

Proper names are represented according to the language most appropriate to the person, place or thing; thus Abū Ma'ālī Naṣrollāh and Ibn Mukāffa' in a Persian context, but 'Abdullāh b. al-Mukāffa' in an Arabic context. Place names which have an accepted English form will normally assume that form; thus 'Shiraz' and not 'Šīrāz'.

## CHAPTER I

### ANALYSIS OF THE TALE OF THE HARE AND THE LION

Whereas succeeding chapters will consider specific stylistic and grammatical points illustrating this study of the several versions of Kalīla wa-Dimna, it is the purpose of this chapter, which will be devoted to an analysis of one entire tale in all the versions, to give an overall impression of the differences and correspondences between the various texts. The tale here selected is that of the Hare and the Lion (no.G 14 in the cross-index in the appendix and part of the Chapter of the Lion and the Bull) and is told by the jackal Dimna in order to illustrate to his friend/brother Kalīla that one need not use force to influence those who are more powerful, but that one can achieve his ends through craft and cunning.

A synopsis of the tale is as follows. Once in a lush and wooded area the numerous animals were kept in constant terror by a lion who claimed sovereignty over the territory and each day went hunting for his meals. One day the animals presented a plan to the lion whereby they would deliver one of their number daily as food for him on the condition that he cease his constant harassment. To this the lion readily agreed and the plan was duly implemented. All worked well until the day came when it was the turn of a certain shrewd hare to be taken before the lion. The hare, of course, devised a stratagem by which he could save himself; and so, on the appointed day, he dallied on the road until the customary mealtime of the lion had long passed and the beast was both very hungry and very angry. When the hare

at last arrived before the lion he apologized profusely, saying that the hare which he had been conducting to the lion's table had been stolen along the way by another lion who claimed that he was the king of the region. Upon hearing this, the first lion flew into a rage and insisted that the hare lead him to this upstart. The hare complied and, ushering the lion to the edge of a deep well, indicated the beast peering up from the surface of the water. Seeing this, the lion sprang to attack his reflection at the bottom of the well and thereby perished, freeing the animals from his tyranny.

The plan of this chapter is that after a brief consideration of an arbitrarily selected section of the tale in the Arabic version (represented by the editions of Cheikho, 'Azzām and Sādir) the corresponding section will be analyzed in each of the remaining versions, taking those of each language in chronological order - an exception being made in the case of the earliest Persian versions, which are virtual contemporaries. The Persian works considered are those of al-Boḥārī, Mīnovī's edition of Kalīla va Dimna-yi Bahrāmshāhī (with occasional reference to Ḳarīb's edition of the same), Kāṣifī's Anvār-i Sohaylī, and Abū Faḏl's 'Iyār-i Dāniş; Turkish works include that by Kul Mes'ūd, 'Alī Çelebi's Hümāyūn-nāma, the Semār ül-Esmār by 'Osmānzāda Tā'ib, and lastly Ahmed Midhat's Hulāsa-yi Hümāyūn-nāma

In the pocket at the end of this volume of the thesis may be found parallel transcriptions of the above versions - with heavy horizontal lines indicating breaks between the sections discussed. A genealogical chart is available for reference in

the appendix to this thesis and European translations of several of the versions are noted in the cross-index, also in the appendix.

### Section One

In the opening section of the tale the language of the Arabic versions is very simple, stating that a lion lived in a vast territory which had an abundance of water and many varieties of wildlife. (The Arabic of Ibn Mukaffa' will not be analysed in very great detail because the wide variance between surviving versions would render the effort fruitless.)

Al-Boḥārī in his A.D. 1149 Persian translation from the Arabic closely follows Ibn Mukaffa's narrative, but contributes much to the description of the setting of the tale. He excels in the use of adjectives - particularly doubled ones - and achieves good assonance in the passage with emphasis placed on the ā or -ān sound, as in: bīṣa-yi hūṣ-o-ḥorram va ābādān-i āb-ravān, va sāya-yi dirāhtān-o-safīr-i morḡān, va 'alafī-yi bī-andāza-vo-farāvān. It must be pointed out, however, that al-Boḥārī is at his best when narrating a story such as this, and that writing on weightier topics often defeats him.

Turning now to Nasrollāh's translation from the Arabic, we find that he greatly elaborates this part of the tale - so much so, in fact, that it is hardly recognizable. It must be noted, too, that any changes which Nasrollāh carries out are important in that all but one of the subsequent Persian and Turkish versions are based either directly or indirectly on his text.<sup>(1)</sup>

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(1) The exception is Ömer Rıza Doğrul's Turkish Kelile ve Dimne which was done in 1957 and based directly upon Ibn Mukaffa'.

Typical of Nasrollāh's treatment is the manner in which he delays the introduction of the lion and all other characters until he has fully described the setting; he thus selects individual characteristics of the wooded area and dwells upon each, describing its breezes, its illumination, and the glories of the trees to be found there - first in prose, and then in Arabic and Persian verses. He returns to prose in order to describe the animals and the happiness they might have enjoyed there but for the presence of the lion.

In his description of the winds and light, Nasrollāh sets up a very pleasing sac' pattern, or parallelism of sentence elements; the grammatical construction of both sentences is identical and the balance of the rhythm is maintained by using words of similar length and form. Perhaps this can best be illustrated by writing the sentences in the following manner, so that grammatically similar elements are in the same column:

	nasīm-i ān	bū-yi bihist-rā	mo'atṭar	karda	būd
va	'aks-i ān	rū-yi falak-rā	monauvar	gardānīda	

and:

	az har ṣāḥī	hazār sitāra	tābān
va	dar har sitāra	hazār sipīhr	ḥayrān

The balanced but unrhymed structure of the first pair of lines above can be described in Persian or Arabic as moraccāz, whereas the second pair of lines can be described as belonging to the class of sac'-i motavāzin because it is balanced and its final words rhyme. As only the first of the four lines contains a finite verb, all four clauses are dependent on it.

In the lines which follow, the whole picture which

Nasrollāh has created finds reinforcement in Arabic and Persian verses which describe laughter, scented mists, quicksilver, verdigris and gems.

Nasrollāh next introduces the fauna, but has again altered the mode of expression by employing unbalanced and unrhymed prose, which in Persian and Arabic is labelled 'arī' - or naked - prose. Although unbalanced and unrhymed, this sentence maintains a pleasant flow, partly, perhaps, because of the pair of doubled nouns, cirā-h<sup>v</sup>ar-o-āb and hisb-o-rāhat.

That the next Persian version, the Anvār-i Sohaylī by Kāṣifī, is based upon Nasrollāh's text rapidly becomes evident, for in this passage, as in most others, Kāṣifī has adopted much material directly from his predecessor. Kāṣifī here begins by assigning a specific location to the story, in this instance Baghdad, as he so frequently does when Nasrollāh's text has not provided one. Other settings favoured by Kāṣifī are Aleppo, India, Kashmir and China, with his own native Khorasan never being mentioned - presumably because he felt that the tales would command greater interest if set in exotic, though genuine, locations.

Through the simple expedient of adding a finite verb, būd, to the first line of the story (the line preceding the four clauses discussed above), Kāṣifī entirely changes the balance of the first sentence, making the relative clauses dependent upon the now independent clause of the first line. In addition, he alters the verbs in the first two relative clauses by replacing kardā būd (nearly equal in metrical weight to gardānīda) with sāhtī and by changing the pluperfect gardānīda

to the continuous gardānīdī.

He thus breaks up the exactly parallel (moraccāz) rhythm of these two clauses, making the first slightly shorter, and provides each with rhyming verbs similar in tense. In the second of these relatives, by substituting riyāhīn-aš for ān and dāda for rū, Kāṣifī at once creates a more complex picture and breaks up the perhaps monotonous grammatical parallelism of Nasrollāh; at the same time he retains enough of Nasrollāh's parallel structure to preserve an attractive rhythm and flow.

In the next pair of clauses Kāṣifī again works changes which heighten the imagery, for gol-'izār both conjures up a more striking picture and lengthens the clause better to accommodate the increased length of the preceding and following lines. Kāṣifī's version of the last of these lines is far more complex than Nasrollāh's and correspondingly more intriguing. The -ān sound is important in the second half of this clause (... az ān sitāragān noh falak sar-gardān), and here sar-gardān has two possible meanings: the major one being 'astonished', 'amazed' or 'giddy', with the secondary one 'wandering' or 'straying'.

At this point Kāṣifī ignores Nasrollāh's Arabic verse and substitutes a Persian verse of his own composition.

By expanding and enlarging upon the reasons for the happiness of all the creatures, Kāṣifī improves the already easy and appealing rhythm of Nasrollāh's original. In the first sentence there is a satisfying rhyme between marḡzār and bisyar - both the poetic rhyme of -ār and the near syntactical rhyme produced by the similarity in stress. The next sentence contains two pairs



of phrases, all of which are based entirely upon izāfa constructions; as a result of all the nouns in the first pair terminating in vowel sounds, two lovely strings of izāfa are created, the final words of which are havā and faẓā, which rhyme both poetically and syntactically. The second pair of phrases plays upon the fact that kasrat, vos'at and ni'mat are again both poetic and syntactic rhymes. Of these four phrases, the first is longest, the second shorter and the third shortest. In this way Kāṣifī varies the rhythm by making the fourth phrase midway in length between the second and third.

In composing the 'Iyār-i Dāniş, the successor to the Anvār-i Sohaylī, Abū Faẓl largely deletes and paraphrases Kāṣifī. In the opening lines of this tale it is possible to see to what extent this is true, for Kāṣifī's first lines are reduced to a single declarative sentence, followed by another introducing the animals and describing rather briefly the reasons for their well-being. As that description is skilfully written, it is worth examining, for in ba-vāsta-yi dil-pazīrī-yi havā va bisyārī-yi āb va farāhī-yi ni'mat the ī and y sounds are stressed due to all the izāfas being based upon words which are near syntactical rhymes (-pazīrī, bisyārī and farāhī), all of which end in the ī sound.

Among the Turkish versions, Kul Mes'ūd's is a direct translation from the Kalīla va Dimna-yi Bahrāmşāhī and it is the earliest. Although in general faithful to the Persian, Mes'ūd restores the introduction of the lion to the first line of the tale, thereby ignoring Nasrollāh's innovative re-arrangement of the narrative.

An early impression is that the word order of the first few clauses is not 'natural' - perhaps so that Mes'ūd can both effect the lion's introduction and place the phrase bir yazıda ve cemende in a position immediately preceding the clauses dependent upon it. Further reading reveals, however, that throughout his work Mes'ūd is largely adopting Nasrollāh's word order and writing only a few lines in what is now regarded as ~~not~~ normal word order for Turkish. As this Kelile ve Dimne is among the first prose works in Turkish (and therefore composed at a time when there were relatively few literary conventions) it may be assumed that Kul Mes'ūd was engaged in pioneering work and struggling to establish a truly Turkish means of expression. For this effort he is deserving of praise.

It is interesting that in the first line Mes'ūd translates Nasrollāh's marḡzarī (a Persian word which probably would have been understood by Mes'ūd's contemporaries) with a pair of words, yazı and çemen, only one of which is Turkish in origin. (1)

In the first two relative clauses of the same sentence, Mes'ūd follows the Persian original quite closely, but in the second pair he brings in new material, adding a singing nightingale (hezār destān) to the 'thousand stars' in the first of these clauses and in the second ignoring Nasrollāh's 'thousand heavens' and introducing the freshness of flowers (çiçeklerden tāzelik). In addition, the verbs ending each of the four clauses terminate in -miş idi.

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(1) Yunus Emre uses merḡzar in his Bahāriye. (Abdül Baki Gölpınarlı, ed. Istanbul, 1943. Vol. I, p.185.)

Whereas Mes'ūd does, as usual, spare his readers the Arabic verses included by Nasrollāh, he translates several of the images of the Persian poetry into a Turkish verse, the metre of which is entirely quantitative. This typifies Kul Mes'ūd's treatment of Nasrollāh's Arabic and Persian verse throughout his Kelīle ve Dimne.

In the last few lines of this section, Mes'ūd expands and pads the narrative, apparently feeling that neither the happy situation of the animals nor the reasons for it have been sufficiently explained, but in listing the advantages of the setting for the tale he makes little attempt to embellish his writing with alliteration, assonance, parallelism or pleasing rhythm.

'Alī Çelebi based his Hümāyūn-nāma on the Anvār-i Sohaylī of Kāşifī and a comparison of the two works makes the power and skill of both writers apparent. 'Alī clearly is not the mere translator he is so often accused of being, for in his version he has enriched and enlarged upon what is almost universally acknowledged a masterpiece of Persian prose. Although drawing heavily upon the Anvār-i Sohaylī for much of his vocabulary and imagery, 'Alī expands and builds upon them so that in many respects he creates an entirely new work.

'Alī makes changes in the first sentence of this section which alters its entire tone, for by introducing aḥbārında to offset nevāhīsinde he effects a rhyme with both merğzār and the predicate var; and the rhythmic balance is maintained by the paired rhymes of the epithets applied thereto in succeeding lines: 'anber/mu'attar and Kevser/perver.

In the next set of lines, where Kāşifî has but one approximately parallel pair of clauses, 'Alî produces four closely interrelated ones. The first two are obviously parallel in a moraccaz fashion:

hâki	'abîr-ü-'anber gibi	mu'attar
ve nesîmi	Tesnîm-ü-Kevser gibi	rûhperver

The second pair, though not so closely related, nonetheless contains words which are very similar in form and stress, so that 'aks-i envâr-u-ezhârî is near 'aded-i 'uyûn-u-enhârî; both clauses contain ablatives, and the verbs kamaşmıŝ and aşmıŝ rhyme. In addition, the two pairs of epithets in the last clause produce a staccato rhythm through their excellent assonance.

'Alî alters Kāşifî's imagery and overall meaning in the next two parallel clauses, which may be charted thus:

gûlzârinûn	her şâhında	hezâr sitâre	tâbân
ve ol sitârelerûn	nazzâresinde	nûh felek	ser-gerdân

The first of these changes is rather subtle, for 'Alî replaces the adjective gol-'izâr (or gûl-'izâr, meaning 'rosy-cheeked') with the similar-sounding noun gûlzâr ('rose garden') which is placed in a genitive construction with şâh, thereby changing both the emphasis and the import of the line. Secondly, Kāşifî's noun hosn ('goodness' or 'beauty') is deleted in favour of nazzâre ('a body of observers') which is put into construction with sitâreler, thus almost including the reader among the nazzâre.

Kāşifî's Persian poem is, for the most part, translated into Turkish, employing the same metre and even adopting the final line in its entirety.

The highly-polished lines ending this section in the Anvār-i Sohaylī become, if anything, even more refined in the Ottoman. The first sentence achieves a much better internal balance through the inclusion of the symmetrical and alliterative pair vuhūs-ı bisyār and sibā'-ı bī-sūmār, which are offset by the following locative and predicate. The four phrases which follow and give the reason for the happy situation are masterfully constructed, for the qualitative noun in each case ends in -et, the first two being of the fa'ālat form and the second pair being fa'lat or fi'lat. In addition, 'Alī employs Kāşifī's havā and fezā, and in the last of the phrases has qualified ni'met with bī-hisāb, which recalls āb in the previous phrase. This section ends with tutmuşlardı, which is similar in form to the above itmişlerdi.

The next Ottoman Turkish version was 'Osmānzāda Tā'ib's Semār ül-Esmār, which was based upon the Hümāyūn-nāma of 'Alī Çelebi. As it was 'Osmānzāda's purpose to write a moral guide rather than a literary masterpiece, it will be noted that he has deleted and culled passages from 'Alī on quite a large scale, going far beyond Abū Fażl's abridgement of Kāşifī. In this passage beginning the tale of the Hare and the Lion 'Osmānzāda cuts the narrative down to what seem to be its bare essentials. About the only notable stylistic points are that in his simple, declarative sentences he has borrowed several epithets directly from 'Alī, and that he changes tutmuşlardı to the doubled tavattun-u-karār itmişler idi.

The Hulāsa-yı Hümāyūn-nāma of Ahmed Midhat is, as the title implies, also based upon 'Alī's work, but Ahmed's intentions are

far different from 'Osmānzāda's in that the former wishes to bring the language up to date - for much had changed in Ottoman literature during the intervening three centuries - and aims to entertain a wider group of readers, with moral precepts being apparently rather secondary. Be this as it may, Ahmed cuts the story down even further than did 'Osmānzāda Tā'ib, for he does not immediately mention the presence of animals in his gūzel bir orman.

## Section Two

Returning now to the Arabic in order to continue the narrative, we find Ibn Mukaffa' going into rather greater detail than he did in the previous section, mentioning that the wuhūṣ were denied the many benefits of the region because of the tyranny of the lion, then describing the animals' agreement among themselves and their proposal to the lion.

Al-Boḥārī in his Persian version elaborates upon the Arabic to describe in somewhat finer detail the conference among the animals, to note that they acted with humility before the lion (... bar vay sanā h<sup>v</sup>āndand ...), and to give a colourful description of how both parties were put at a disadvantage by the state of affairs. Al-Boḥārī then creates a melodious sentence with a parallel predicate: Va mā dar īn kār andīsa'ī kardā-īm va tadbīrī sāhta-īm kī ....

At the end of the proposal to the lion, this translation is unique in having the animals seek the lion's assurance that he will not break the covenant, although Kāṣifī later adds that the vohūṣ would not allow their part of the bargain to be broken.

Nasrollāh now introduces the lion into the narrative for the first time, making the beast's presence a surprise to the reader, as it rather suddenly negates the advantages of the region which have just been described.

Looking to the first sentence and ān hama monaḡḡas būd, the use of hama following ān is more effective than if it had preceded ān, which would have been the more usual order.

A few lines further on, in their plea to the lion, the animals exclaim: Tū har rūz pas az ranc-i bisyār-o-maṣakkat-i farāvān, az mā yakī sikār mī-tavānī sikast, va mā payvasta dar balā va tū dar takāpū'i-vo-talab. Nasrollāh here plays on several sounds, two at a time, these being -ār in bisyār and sikār, -vān in farāvān and tavānī, and -ast in sikast and payvasta. These pairs, and the parallelism in the last ten words, help the flow of the line by subconsciously linking portions of the sentence in the reader's mind. Also, the use of sikastan in place of the more common kardan or giriftan is very effective.

In torā dar ān farāḡat va mārā amn-o-rāhat bāṣad there again occurs a very effective use of sac' and near-parallelism with bāṣad serving both phrases, and in the last line of this section the use of two rather guttural Arabic words (ta'arroḡ and movazzaf) balances the two clauses which are otherwise made up of 'softer' Arabic and Persian elements.

In introducing the protagonists of the tale, Nasrollāh is far more terse than any of his successors, for he devotes but a single short sentence to the lion and the plight of the smaller animals. In the Anvār-i Sohaylī, on the other hand, Kāṣifī



considers three clauses more appropriate to the situation and begins with a main clause in which the prepositional phrase is balanced by the well-proportioned adjectival pair sīrī-yi tond-hūy-i balā-jūy, which are themselves neatly balanced, evocative and assonant. The two relative clauses which follow both end in past continuous verbs and are metrically equal to each other.

In the next sentence where Nasrollāh, in effect, uses compound verbs, Kāṣifī again writes a pair of very descriptive and rhythmical, but non-parallel, complex clauses, each of which contains a past participle as well as a past-tense verb.

Kāṣifī's rendering of the animals' plea to the lion draws heavily upon Nasrollāh's already elegant version, and again transforms it into a highly ornate and resonant passage. The four clauses contain the final-word rhyme-scheme A-B-A-B, with the additional internal rhyme in the second clause of ranc-i farāvān and maṣakkat-i bī-pāyān and the parallelism and rhyme between kaṣ-ā-kaṣ-i balā in the third, and takāpū-yi 'anā of the fourth.

The Anvār-i Sohaylī version of the lament, in addition, sounds more 'believable' - if one can apply such a term to so ornate a literary work - in that the beasts first plead their sincerity and devotion to the lion and then go on to relate that the lion expends a great amount of effort in trying to secure his meals, but that he may not always be successful. Nasrollāh's text allows for no doubt about the lion's record. Interestingly, Kāṣifī has followed what is now an accepted rhetorical device in winning over an opponent or would-be opponent, in that he paves the way for the proposal by showing how some agreement



would be of benefit for all concerned.

By making but a few modifications to Nasrollāh's sentence beginning with aknūn, Kāṣifī has been able to refine the flow and increase the parallelism of the last two lines (beginning with torā and mā-rā).

In the conditional sentence which follows, Kāṣifī begins by relying heavily upon Nasrollāh but then moves off on an entirely new tack. The result is four interconnected clauses which are a pleasure to read. The rhyme-scheme for these clauses is A-A-C-C, based upon the verbs and their inflected endings. Internally, none of these clauses is actually parallel to any other, but there are sufficient similarities to maintain both a measured flow and the reader's interest. Kāṣifī has employed in the first of these lines the fifth form of the Arabic tri-literal root عزف, just as Nasrollāh had, but rather than use it as a verbal noun with kardan he has made the lion into a mota'arriẓ ('molester' or 'hinderer') so that he could couple na-ṣavī and na-sāzī.

In the 'Iyār-i Dāniš of Abū Faẓl we again find that Kāṣifī's work is culled and altered, but in this section this is true to a far lesser degree than in the first passage examined. In the lines introducing the lion and describing his undesirable qualities, Abū Faẓl does little more than substitute the Persian rū and talh for the Arabic likā and monagḡas, remove nā-mobāarak, and then replace ki har rūz with gāh gāh, perhaps in an attempt to alter the rhythm. The next sentence, though maintaining approximately the same grammatical structure, again substitutes Persian for Arabic elements, while simultaneously introducing

more Arabic in the entirely new element ba-zabān-i ilhās and transposing izhār to zāhir.

The next set of lines (up to the actual proposal) have essentially the same relationship to one another that the equivalent lines of Kāşifī have, but with the Arabic word maşakkat deleted, and certain other Arabic elements exchanged for yet more Arabic ones, such as mihnat for 'anā and bā'is for mucāb. The last sentence in this section contains further examples of Abū Fażl's deletion, substitution and restructuring, although the sentence is still recognizable as having been based on Kāşifī.

In spite of Abū Fażl's reworking these lines and decreasing the number of sac' relationships, the passage reads very smoothly and melodiously.

Turning to the Turkish versions, because Kul Mes'ūd has already introduced the lion he is able to expand upon the beast's cruelty at the point where Nasrollāh is first noting the lion's presence and this enlargement, though broadly based on Nasrollāh's words, contains much original material. For example, rather than say that 'the blessings and tranquility (of that location) were rendered misery' (ān hama ni'mat-o-āsāyış monağğas būd), Mes'ūd writes 'those blessings did not give their favour to them and not a single day was without anxiety' (ol ni'met bulara çāşnī vermez idi, ve gönül tarlığından bir gün hālī olmazdı). Mes'ūd's use of the negative aorist is strangely more foreboding than Nasrollāh's

simple past tense.<sup>(1)</sup>

In this section Mes'ūd continues to follow Nasrollāh's word order almost exactly, but he does add to the narrative on occasion, as in the first clause of the plea of the animals where he used delim as well as çok in rendering bisvār and farāvān. Nasrollāh's parallelism in the next clause is put to good use by Mes'ūd in beginning his clauses with the same effect (Biz hemīse senün/Sen hemīse bizi). In the last clause Mes'ūd employs two verbs in the -ip form, yelüb yortub, and later in the passage uses the same two verbs in their infinitive form, velmek ve yormak.

The next few lines are a straight translation with Nasrollāh's har rüz clause being expanded for explanatory purposes.

In the Hümāyün-nāma 'Alī Çelebi uses four clauses to introduce the tyrannical lion and to describe the effect he has upon the other animals, whereas Kāşifī employs only three. From these four, the words preceding the verbs in "A", "B" and "D" rhyme with one another - hün-h<sup>v</sup>ār, āşikār and şikār - and these in turn rhyme with izhār two clauses below. Although 'Alī works numerous changes (such as dropping the pair tond-hüy-i balā-cüy) while adopting others ideas in toto, he has not really improved upon the original in this instance but has, nonetheless, done a masterful translation of the work.

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- (1) The use of ni'met in the Turkish is an argument for favouring Karīb's reading of Nasrollāh at this point over Mīnovī's, for the latter rendition does not include the word.

The impassioned speech of the animals is largely translated, but some interesting points do occur. Lines "A" and "C" of the printed edition both begin and end with biz, so that one is tempted to assume that the final "word" in each case must be -iz, but it is almost certain that the printed text has biz four times. Perhaps this is indeed the way 'Alī writes the lines and is being innovative. Be that as it may, 'Alī alters somewhat the tone of the animals' address as it is found in Kāṣifī, for they speak to the lion about himself in the third person rather than the second. It may be that this mode of address is more polite, especially in a complaint.

Another change in the Hūmayūn-nāma is that ra'īyat-o-ḥaṣam becomes huddamī-vu-ḥaṣemī, probably to take advantage of the alliteration, possible in Turkish but not in Persian, produced by the similar pronunciation in Turkish of the letters "H" and "Ḥ"

By slightly expanding Kāṣifī's next sentence, 'Alī is able to create more complete parallelism in the second and third clauses through prefixing huṣūr-u- to ferāḡat; thus he creates a more attractive effect.

'Osmānzāda Tā'ib displays more inventiveness in this section than he did in the first, for here he introduces numerous changes in vocabulary, presumably with a much more general readership in mind. 'Alī's first sentence, in which the lion is introduced, becomes two sentences; nevāhī is exchanged for havālī, dā'im for her gūn, and the whole has been condensed.

His next sentence is closely based upon the Hūmayūn-nāma

but modernized in the same manner, so that while it may be clearer to the wider readership which 'Osmānzāda had in mind, it is not nearly as interesting as the original because of the loss of parallelism in verbal elements. It is difficult to understand what he is trying to achieve by substituting constructions such as 'arż-ı 'ubūdiyet-ü-inkiyād and hużūr-ı sīre for 'ubūdiyet-ü-inkiyād izhār idüb and sīr katına, which add nothing to the clarity and sacrifice the rhythm of the original.

The following lines are adopted almost in their entirety, except that where 'Alī has the lion addressed in the third person, 'Osmānzāda has him in the second singular. In addition, 'Osmānzāda replaces the Persian construction (and Turkish suffix) hengām-ı çāstda with a totally Arabic expression, 'ala 's-seher.

Ahmed Midhat in the Hulāsa-yı Hümāyūn-nāma concentrates his introduction and setting of the tale into this passage, for this is where the basic plot is set. The development towards a more Turkish form of the language - a movement that was to accelerate in subsequent years - can be clearly observed here, for this section contains no Arabic constructions and only a single Persian one (bā-kur'a). In addition, the movement of the sentences is modern, with little or no concern for sac', and the vocabulary would offer little difficulty for an educated Turk of today. Indeed, Salāheddin Alpay recently romanized Midhat's Hulāsa, altered a few expressions and changed a word here or there - and published the book as his

own work.<sup>(1)</sup>

### Section Three

In this section the Arabic texts note simply that the lion agreed to the proposal which was duly implemented and continued to operate until the hare presented his plan to his fellow-wuhūs, who accepted it. All the conversations in the Arabic are in direct speech.

The Persian of al-Boḥārī expands the story in order to explain more precisely the working of the agreement. Each of the three clauses which al-Boḥārī creates contains paired words (ṣart-o-paymān, paymān-o-kaul and ayman-o-sākin) which is very characteristic of his style, for throughout the work he rarely allows an abstract noun to stand alone, and in such pairs one of the words is usually Arabic in origin.

As one might expect, he prefixes mī- to past-tense verbs (forming mī-bordand and mī-gaštand) to indicate that the action went on continuously in the past. The verb of the next sentence is simple past, rasīd, to show that the lot fell to the hare; but the tense is altered in the following by the addition of a prefix, so that we have bay-āmad - perhaps to indicate that this action of the hare was sudden and out of the ordinary. In the same sentence bar is used where nowadays one would expect ba-.

Al-Boḥārī again employs doubling in the next line, first doubling the predicates and secondly the epithets balā-vo-

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(1) Salāheddin Alpay. Kelile ve Dimne. Istanbul, 1972.

mihnat, and produces an appealing and balanced sentence. The animals' query (Ān-ç az mā dar-mī-h<sup>v</sup>āhī cī-st?), though quite simple, is attractive - perhaps because of its cadence and probable intonation, and because it is a 'periodic' sentence (that is, one in which the main thought and intention of the sentence is reserved to the end) so that the eventual arrival of cī-st carries some surprise.

The hare's reply to this contains two examples of al-Boḥārī's use of the subjunctive, one preceded by ba- and one without any prefix. Thus: tā dīrtar ba-ravam, and kī ān-ç sikālīda-am pīs baram.

Nasrollāh's translation of this section is fairly brief, omitting the hare's description of his stratagem. He adopts the Arabic kur'a instead of substituting in the manner of al-Boḥārī. Agreeable alliteration and assonance in caur-i īn cabbār-i hūn-h<sup>v</sup>ār combine with the play on -āz in gomā-rā az and bāz to make the hare's suggestion to his fellow-animals amusing in tone.

Kāṣifī in the Anvār-i Sohaylī, after adopting the first sentence in its entirety, considerably expands Nasrollāh's text, this expansion consisting of three very melodious clauses, the first and third of which end with verbs having the termination -andī and the second -adī, so that a much more interesting picture is given of the animals' condition.

The sentence in which the hare is first mentioned is also the occasion for the first use of metaphor in this tale when Kāṣifī writes: Zamāna ū-rā hadaf-i tīr-i balā sāht. His use of metaphor in this way is one of the qualities which has



certainly contributed to his popularity in the East - and perhaps diminished it among Western Orientalists.

The hare's declaration to the other animals here is a slightly abridged version of Naṣrollāh, consisting of two clauses approximately equal in length. The effect of this reduction is that the line is now somewhat shorter than the clauses which precede it, so that the rhythm of the entire passage is better balanced.

In the 'Iyar-i Dāniš, Abū Fażl uses Kāṣifī's opening lines with but minor alterations, but later culls considerably in the description of the lottery, and Kāṣifī's four well-balanced clauses are transformed into three rather uneven ones. He next deletes the metaphor about the arrow of calamity, while adopting the remainder of the sentence.

The hare's request contains evidence that Abū Fażl worked with a copy of Naṣrollāh's text beside him as well - not that the point is disputed - for here he has restored the term hūn-h<sup>v</sup>ār which Kāṣifī had dropped from the line. Beyond this simplification there are other substitutions of more common words in this passage: for example moṣāmaḥatī is changed to ta'hīr, caur to sitam; earlier voḥūš had become cāndārī, and below moḏāyaka nīst becomes kaḇūl kardan.

In the last line of this section, Abū Fażl alters the story to a small degree by implying that the hare already had some standing in the community, for the text reads: Qūn bar dāniš-i ū i'timād dāstānd, sohan-i ū-rā kaḇūl kardand.

Kul Mes'ūd continues to put Naṣrollāh's words into a Turkish setting, simpler examples of which are riḏā dād



becoming rāzī oldu and moddatī becoming bir müddet. In the sentence Bir gün kur'a-ve-nevbet tavşana geldi kim h<sup>v</sup>an için melike vara there are several interesting points. Firstly, the word order of the sentence is entirely Persian, for one could easily translate word for word: Rūzī kor'a-vo-naubat ba-har-gūs āmad ki barā-yi h<sup>v</sup>an ba-malik rasānad. Secondly, although in the wrong order the verbs are of a form which one could expect today. Thirdly, Mes'ūd introduces the near synonym nevbet to reinforce kor'a in a pair. (Al-Boḥārī, incidentally, also uses naubat, but as a translation of kor'a, not a companion.)

In the hare's request to his friends, Kul Mes'ūd again employs Persian word order, for everything between Eger and kurtaram (with the exception of his original clause ve biraz vakt sehl dutarsañuz) would appear to be derived directly from Naṣrollāh's text. Mes'ūd's sentence does, however, have several positive qualities; for example, the first two verbs (mūsāmaha eylerseñüz<sup>(1)</sup> and sehl dutarsañuz) have parallel aorist conditional endings and employ Arabic masdars. Later in the same sentence Mes'ūd achieves excellent alliteration and assonance in kān-yeyici cān alicı zālimum cevrenden kurtaram.

In the same way that Mes'ūd feels that a noun is necessary in the first sentence of the section, so does 'Alī, for he inserts kaṣā in this line. Later the sentence beginning with

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- (1) Kul Mes'ūd's use of mūsāmahatī here tends to confirm the readings of Karīb and Āmolī in this passage. Mīnovī favours tavakkofī.

ittifāk is very well balanced and melodious. 'Alī next adds a Persian poem - apparently of his own composition - given as being from the hare.

The next sentence, describing the thoughts of the hare about a solution, is most effective and expressive. 'Alī's bold treatment of Kāṣifī's text in such passages indicates how confident he was of his own abilities and of his control over language. Here his play upon the -ūs sound in har-gūs-i pūr-hūs and the sac' rhyme and assonance in ser-i tahayyūri, zānū-yi tefekküre and mikdar-i tedebbür, based upon words of both syntactical and poetic rhyme, display 'Alī's masterful hand. In addition, the inclusion of the hare's self-doubts makes the Hümāyūn-nāma's version of this passage seem much more alive than that of the other texts.

'Alī continues his expansion in the ensuing lines with a very effective pair of clauses which, for all practical purposes are an example of sac'-i morassa (in which balanced words are rhymed):

bu		cebbārīñ		pençe-yi		cevrinden
bu		kahhārīñ		şikence-yi		kahrından

This responds to Kāṣifī's az caur-i in cabbār, but goes so much further.

In the final line of this section, minnetler eyldiler and himmetler eyldiler reinforce the unity of the sentence.

'Osmānzāda depends strictly upon 'Alī in this passage, for most of his text is adopted almost unaltered from the Hümāyūn-nāma - but without the section about the hare's worries.

Ahmed Midhat recasts the passage into a modern form, using

-erek and -mekden sonra clauses, showing little regard for sac or syntactical balance and largely avoiding Arabic and Persian words and constructions.

#### Section Four

The Arabic narrative continues in a simple and essentially unadorned style. It is noted that the hare has delayed beyond the lion's normal meal-time, so that both hunger and anger have grown in the beast and he has begun to pace about.

Al-Boḥārī translates Ibn Mukaffa' quite faithfully, adding little material to the narrative. In his first sentence the three verbs are past tense, but the first (ba-mūlīd), which describes the hare's actions of that moment, is preceded by ba- for emphasis, whereas the second (bordandī) is written with a final -ī to indicate continuous action over a long period. The third of these verbs (dar-gozašt) is simple past and without qualification. The two verbs of the next sentence are also in the past tense: the first (bar-hāst) is without a prefix and so is outwardly a simple past, but as al-Boḥārī never writes bar ba-hāst (although using the word as though written that way) it can be assumed that he conceived of the verb as belonging to a special category, probably a category which included all verbs preceded by prepositions; the second verb (mīy-āmad) is used to indicate past continuous action within fixed time limits.

Making hišm the subject of the second clause in the succeeding sentence, va hišm dar vay kār kard, is an excellent device to enliven the text, especially when the word again springs up in the following line.

Nasrollāh, too, follows the Arabic fairly closely, but moulds his Persian with a skill far greater than al-Boḥārī's, as in his āhista narm narm rūy ba-sū-yi šīr nihād. His description of the lion's discomfort and rage is deftly furnished with parallelism of both grammatical and verbal forms and with well-drawn idiomatic expressions.

In the Anvār-i Sohaylī version of this section Kāṣifī accepts Nasrollāh's language in many lines, but alters the narrative pace somewhat by describing the lion's hunger a few lines earlier. He later adds a Persian verse and then three well-constructed clauses describing the hare's perception, employing alliteration in ḡayat-i ḡaḏab and rhyme between ḡaḏab and mī-talabad.

Abū Faḏl works selectively on this section of the Anvār-i Sohaylī, changing Kāṣifī's kovvat-i sabo'ī-yi šīr dar harakat āmada to the simpler ḡaḏabat-i šīr dar conbaṣ āmad (apparently inspired by ḡaḏab, several lines later in Kāṣifī's text), and deleting the poetry. He does, however, greatly improve upon Kāṣifī's āhista pīs āmad va salām kard by lengthening both clauses to create Har-ḡus āhista āhista pīs āmad va az rū-yi niyāz salām kard, which conjures up a much fuller picture of the hare and his approach to the lion.

While initially continuing to employ Nasrollāh's word order, Kul Mes'ūd provides some intriguing innovations in this section. First he replaces Nasrollāh's āhista narm narm with añul añul (modern Turkish inil inil, meaning 'sorrowfully') and thus turns about the narrative, implying that the hare was not as confident as other texts would have it. Second, Mes'ūd

composes a rather elaborate sac' pattern made up of a single clause followed by four dependent clauses; of the latter, 'A' and 'C' are introduced by söylekim, and 'A' and 'B' end with the verbs bindürmiş and belürmiş respectively and the shorter clauses 'C' and 'D' terminate with akmış and dutmuş, thus forming both poetic and syntactical rhymes.

'Alī Çelebi's Hümāyūn-nāma in this section is clearly the most developed of all the versions, departing from Kāşifī's text to create a complicated network of sac' patterns which deserve notice. Following the clause Har-gūs sol kadar tevakkuf eyldi ki are a series of clauses, the first of which may be written:

		şirīn		dīg-i cū'ı		ğaleyān	
ve				kuvvet-i sebu'isi		heyecān idüb	

As the words ğaleyān and heyecān are similar in form, rhyme and number of letters, this clause may be termed sac'-i motavāzī.

The next clause is an example of sac'-i motarraf because cūs and hurūş, though rhymes, are not of the same form:

		hişm-i vuhūşdan		ebr gibi		cūs				
ve				bebr gibi		hurūş'a		āğāz		itdi

Although the following clauses may be similarly plotted, it is technically not possible to label them according to Perso-Arabic sac' rules because most of their elements are Turkish:

ve		ıztırābından		gāh				turub
				gāh				oturub
		ğazabından				dendānin bir birine		urub

and:

	sadā-yī mehīb		
ü	gīrīv-i bā-nehīb	gūs-i gāv-i zemīne	
ve		sem'-i şīr-i gerdūna	yetdi

This last sentence, particularly, contains very good parallelism of elements and rhyme between mehīb and nehīb.

'Alī next includes a bayt in Turkish and follows this with a return to translation of Kāşifī. Interestingly, the positions of narm narm and āhista are reversed when they occur in the Hümāyūn-nāma, these appearing several lines apart in both texts.

Neither 'Osmānzāda nor Ahmed Midhat devotes more than a few lines to this section, supplying only those points vital to the narrative.

#### Section Five

The Arabic carries on with the long-awaited arrival of the hare and his angry reception by the lion. In response to a demand for an explanation the hare relates his fabricated story about the second lion, which angers the real lion so much that he demands to be ushered before his rival.

Al-Boḥārī greatly expands the narrative in this section, accomplishing this through the addition of colloquial, but standard (as opposed to dialect), Persian conversations. The text is liberally sprinkled with doubled elements (and in one instance the trebled bīḡa-vo-bar-o-būm) and chains of short words speed up the pace and set up a rapid staccato rhythm which is in keeping with the lion's agitation.

Nasrollāh elaborates the Arabic only slightly here and relies less upon sac' patterns than he normally does, probably

because a greater percentage of the narrative is necessarily in the form of excited conversation. With the same end in mind, perhaps, Nasrollāh relies less upon Arabic vocabulary in this section and keeps the pace rapid and uncomplicated.

The same is generally true of Kāṣifī's treatment of this passage - with the exception that he maintains his use of weighty Arabic terms. Interestingly, he has both lions speaking poetry, for the lion who has allegedly waylaid the hare says in a misra': Na-sanīda'ī maḡar tū kī har sīr-o-bīṣa'ī? - which seems to allude to a well-known aphorism (much like asking in English 'Have you not heard of a stitch in time?'). Later the real lion waxes eloquent in two bayts of poetry. As an excellent addition to the narrative, Kāṣifī gives the hare an extra speech in which he colourfully goads the lion into action against the supposed foe by painting a picture of the real lion as the victor.

In the beginning of this section Abū Faḡl wavers from the story-line of Kāṣifī by elaborating several references. In the first line, for example, the lion specifically asks why the bozorgān among the animals had broken their pledge. This necessitates a short answer before the hare can return to a slightly expanded narrative. The remainder of this section is abridged by Abū Faḡl in his usual manner, with both pieces of poetry being removed.

In the Turkish, Kul Mes'ūd largely translates Nasrollāh's words directly into Turkish in the first half of this section, but culls a considerable amount from the latter half. A minor exception occurs in the first part where Nasrollāh writes Ġizā-yi



malik ast, which Mes'ud alters to the stronger Melik ġidāsin almaġil! Here he uses the -gil imperative ending which one would expect in a work of this period.

'Alī Çelebi's Hümāyūn-nāma opens this section with the rippling cadence of Ne tuşdan gelürsin ve hāl-i vuhūşdan ne bilürsin? Later the lion is given such rhyming lines as: Ey şūm v-ey haysūm-i meysūm and bu bīse benūm 'sıkārgāhum ve saydı vazīfe-yi dergāhum. The last speech of the hare is enchanting with its rhymes and measured phrases. Although largely faithful to Kāşifī's text in this section, 'Alī in many instances finds inspiration in it and goes on to enlarge upon it and enrich it immeasurably.

With only one exception, in this passage 'Osmānzāda adopts lines virtually entire from 'Alī and in so doing he hastens the pace of the story to a speed approaching that of the Arabic original. This may well be an improvement in the telling of the story, but it also represents the sacrifice of some alluring imagery.

Ahmed Midhat's Hulāsa in this section seems hardly to be based on 'Alī's text at all, so great is the difference between them. Again there can be little doubt but that this is a comparatively recent text, for the sac'-less sentences are long and contain few Persian iżāfas.

### Section Six

In the final section the Arabic relates how the hare took the lion to the brink of the well and said that this was the place. When the lion looked down he could see two figures,



apparently the new lion and the hare he had stolen. Not doubting the hare's word the lion jumped in to do battle, and perished. As always, the Arabic of this section is simple, unadorned and straightforward.

Al-Boḥārī here elaborates the narrative slightly, but in general closely follows the Arabic. Naṣrollāh slows the pace by writing a rather elaborate description of the fine qualities of the well in Persian prose and Arabic verse, the first verse he has included since early in the tale. Later he describes the drowning of the lion in fine melodramatic lines which in Mīnovī's edition are rhymed and alliterative (va ḡautī h<sup>v</sup>ard va nafs-i hūn-h<sup>v</sup>ār-o-cān-i mordār ba-mālik sipard), though Karīb's version is made simpler (and more accurate?) by omitting nafs-i hūn-h<sup>v</sup>ār va and mordār.

After the lion has perished, Naṣrollāh adds several lines describing the triumphant return of the hare to his friends and how they lived happily ever after, and brings the tale to a close with Arabic verse.

Kāṣifī, as expected, elaborates this section to an even greater degree. Initially he expresses some sympathy for the lion being thus deceived, calling him a ḡīr-i ṣāda-dil, and goes on to describe the clarity of the well's water, adding a third clause to Naṣrollāh's two and likening its surface to a mirror from China. The remainder of the section is composed in the usual manner, with most of Naṣrollāh's post-script included and the Arabic verse deleted in favour of a Persian bayt.

Abū Faḡl accepts most of what Kāṣifī has provided - with the exception of the post-script - and his chief concern in

this section is to simplify the words. It is interesting that Kāṣifī's ḡūn ā'ina-yi Ḡīn becomes ḡūn ā'ina-yi Ḥalabī in the 'Iyār-i Dānīs, perhaps because to a native of India Aleppo is far more exotic and enchanting than China ever could be.

Returning to the Turkish, Mes'ūd continues his translation in the Persian order and does not supplement the narrative except by writing Turkish poems to replace both of Nasrollāh's Arabic ones, but where Nasrollāh introduces his last bayt with va īn bayt-rā virad sāhtand (or mī-goftand in Karīb) Mes'ūd adds an element with işbu beyti sevinüb eyitdiler.

'Alī Çelebi concludes the tale essentially by transposing the Anvār-i Sohaylī into Turkish words, adding new epithets and expanding the occasional phrase. Kāṣifī's final Persian poem is adopted verbatim with a Turkish bayt appended to it.

Both 'Osmānzāda and Ahmed Midhat bring their versions to a close in the same manner in which they recounted the tale, for the former adopts large amounts of the Hümāyūn-nāma verbatim and abridges or simplifies other sections. Ahmed Midhat again sets the entire narrative into his own words in a style that largely ignores parallel clauses and repetitive elements.

### Conclusions

If by 'translation' one means the making of a work of literature in one language available to the readers of another, only three of the versions of Kalīla wa-Dimna discussed here could be considered translations, those being the Persian of al-Boḥārī and Nasrollāh and the Turkish of Kul Mes'ūd; the other versions are attempts to bring the work into line with current

taste and literary practice and to restate it in the modern idiom.

Although both al-Boḥārī and Nasrollāh have been inventive, Nasrollāh in particular introduces an imaginative quality which had hitherto been chiefly associated with poetry, the verses which he adds merely heightening this impression. In effect, he elaborates the text to an unprecedented degree by organising the narrative and by structuring word and sentence patterns, creating a work of both immediate and lasting literary value. Al-Boḥārī's translation, on the other hand, while very readable and entertaining, nonetheless lacks the extra dimension necessary to make a work of literature a classic. The major importance of his work nowadays is perhaps that it provides a glimpse of the accepted level of literary achievement in an Atabeg court and, through Nasrollāh's version, allows us to make comparisons with the contemporary Ghaznavid court. Further, the samples of colloquial speech in al-Boḥārī's translation can probably be regarded as a fair reflection of the spoken language among the educated people of his day.

Kāṣifī's Anvār-i Soḥaylī represents a refinement of both Nasrollāh's version and of his literary style, for Kāṣifī is very much a product of the same literary tradition as Nasrollāh, the differences in the two styles being largely ones of degree, for by Kāṣifī's time (an interval of some three and a half centuries) Nasrollāh's Kalīla va Dimna was no longer sufficiently complex - or even intriguing - to command a wide readership. By reworking and elaborating the collection of fables Kāṣifī reinvigorated them, allowing Kalīla va Dimna to regain and retain its lost popularity.

Abū Faḥl's 'Iyār-i Dāniş represents a toning down of the qualities displayed in the Anvār-i Sohaylī, and a return to simpler syntax and vocabulary - even though many of Kāşifī's passages are adopted in their entirety. It is perhaps a general realization of this fact which has prevented the 'Iyār-i Dāniş from gaining a foothold in any region except India; indeed, nowadays it is difficult to find either manuscript or printed versions of the work in Iranian collections, whereas the Anvār-i Sohaylī is quite readily available in the sub-continent.

In Kul Mes'ūd's version we see one of the first examples of an extended prose work in Turkish, and because the author is attempting to express concepts entirely new to the medium he is required, in a sense, to create a Turkish syntax to match. That Kul Mes'ūd sought his models in Persian is reflected in the word order he employs, yet for the most part his intentions are clear.

The Hümāyūn-nāma, among the works studied in this thesis, is in a category of its own since the people for whom it was written would certainly, as members of the Ottoman educated class, have been capable of appreciating Kāşifī's Persian original. If, then, this new version were to attract a following, 'Alī Çelebi would be obliged somehow to create something which would have greater appeal to his contemporaries than the Anvār-i Sohaylī itself, and the formula for such success lay in a more extended and even more refined application of those stylistic features which are so basic to Kāşifī's work. The Hümāyūn-nāma thus came to be adorned with more intensive sac patterning, even greater use of simile and metaphor and new aphorisms and passages in verse. While 'Alī's text contains a high percentage of elements

in a Persian izāfa relationship, the basic ordering of these and other groupings within clauses and sentences is clearly Turkish and thereby in strong contrast with Kul Mes'ūd's arrangement.

Because 'Osmānzāda usually abridges and only occasionally creates, the Semār 'ul-Esmār, like the 'Iyār-i Dāniş, in many respects represents a retreat from its predecessor's literary achievements. As almost every aspect of 'Alī's style undergoes some dismantling and little is offered to take its place, the resulting version could hardly have been destined to succeed. On the other hand, Ahmed Midhat's work is not a mere precis but is, rather, a totally new rendering of 'Alī's text. With its lack of concern for sac', parallelism and repetition, with a relatively small percentage of Persian izāfa constructions and with a sentence structure representative of late nineteenth-century Turkish in almost every respect, the Hulāsa-yı Hümāyūn-nāma is so different from its original that 'Alī would probably not recognize it and, indeed, perhaps not even understand it.

In conclusion, many aspects of the stylistic development of literary Persian and Turkish are immediately apparent in this comparative study of the tale of the Hare and the Lion. A wide variety of texts representing many periods here demonstrate the numerous ways in which their authors treated the same narrative, and can be looked upon as being indicative of what was considered 'good style' by men of letters in their respective ages and societies.

## CHAPTER II

### THE SENTENCE, ITS ELEMENTS AND STRUCTURE

The foregoing chapter was devoted to the study of an entire tale, that of the Hare and the Lion, with reference to a wide variety of features at levels ranging from single words to the story as a whole. The object of the present chapter is to look more closely at individual sentences in all the versions of Kalīla wa-Dimna and at the grammatical units from which those sentences are constructed. It is important that an analysis of literary style begin with a study of such basic units, for it is at this level that the entire style of the work is determined and its character fixed. The successful employment of such rhetorical features as sac‘, parallelism, rhythm and variation of pace, moreover, depends entirely upon the proper structuring of sentences, because that is the level at which those features succeed or fail. Conversely, it is the skilful manipulation of rhetorical forms which makes possible the long and elaborate sentence structures with which the Anvār-i Sohaylī and the Hümāyūn-nāma abound.

It must be recognized, however, that it would be far beyond the scope of this analysis to engage in writing grammars of Persian and Turkish, or to explore the minutiae of syntax, conjugations and declensions. The intention is rather to make selective observations about the relationship between grammatical usage and stylistics. Further, the terms 'word', 'phrase', 'clause' and 'sentence' ('simple', 'complex' and so forth) will be used according to their traditional definitions, without

reference to the various endeavours of scholars of linguistics in recent years to redefine the terms in a more satisfactory way. It did not seem useful to our present purpose to dwell on these controversies, especially as the classical definitions are entirely adequate.

In addition to influencing such factors as pace and flow, the nature of the sentences which an author employs determines the suitability of his text for the application of rhetorical devices. In the realm of sentence types (i.e. simple, compound, complex, compound-complex), it is obvious that the more elaborate and interesting the sentence is, the greater the degree of flexibility it offers to a literary master of the calibre of Kāşifî or 'Alî Çelebi. Al-Boḥārî, by comparison, displays a marked preference for the simpler kinds of sentence and, through his unskilled use, indicates how inexperienced and uncomfortable he is when writing sentences of greater length and complexity. Similarly, Kul Mes'ūd was obliged by his unfamiliarity with complex sentence structure in written Turkish to turn to Naşrollāh's Persian text for his techniques of presentation. Of the remaining authors all but Abū Fażl and 'Osmānzāda (for neither of whom sufficient evidence exists in these texts) demonstrate much greater facility in the writing of long, involved and potentially tangled sentences; their skill in summoning to their use rhetorical, grammatical and lexical devices is clearly evident, enabling them to avoid the pitfalls of incomprehensibility with which these elaborate sentences abound.



Word/element order

Excluding Kul Mes'ūd's translation (an exception which will be discussed presently), as seen in these versions of Kalīla wa-Dimna both Persian and Turkish exhibit a strong conservatism in the field of word and element order, for there is hardly any change in this basic aspect of the languages over the centuries represented here. Any stylistic development in these languages, therefore, takes place within these limitations.

In Persian sentences the standard element order follows this sequence: (1) expression of time, (2) subject, (3) indirect object, (4) expression of place, (5) direct object, (6) modifier of verb and (7) verb. Although all manner of priorities can and frequently do alter this sequence, the four Persian versions by and large follow this pattern and any stylistic development occurs within the various categories of sentence elements, the tendency being toward elaboration and expansion rather than transmutation.

An example of this is the practice, common in classical Persian and in all of the Persian texts studied here, of the placing of adjectives and adjectival elements after the verb in sentences which introduce people or places, so violating the above-mentioned word order. An example would be this sentence:

Bāzargānī būd bisyār-māl.

(NasM 59/6)

Here the descriptive grouping bisyār-māl is placed on the



'wrong' side of the verb, which is usually of the 'there is' or 'there was' form, but in a manner long accepted in literature and among orators and story-tellers. By the time the verb is reached, such sentences are grammatically complete, yet they continue by supplying further information about the subject.<sup>(1)</sup>

Since this 'violation' of order is so common, it would be worth-while to look at the way in which individual Persian authors approach it. Naṣrollāh's sentence above is very simple in that it merely indicates the existence of a wealthy merchant. Although its meaning is absolutely clear, bisyār-māl is technically ambiguous since it neither governs nor is itself governed. Kāṣifī elaborates Naṣrollāh's simple yet effective sentence by introducing a series of well-balanced adjectival phrases in place of bisyār-māl:

Bāzargānī būd manāzil-i barr-o-bahr paymūda  
va akālīm-i ṣark-o-ḡarb-rā ṭay karda, va  
sard-o-garm-i rūzgār dīda va talḥ-o-ṣīrīn-i  
ayyām bisyār ḡaṣīda.

(Kas 62/5-6)

While grammatically like its predecessor, this well-reasoned sentence is much more effective in conveying the idea of wealth and authority. Simultaneously the numerous rhymes (both poetic

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(1) C.S. Mundy, writing in BSOAS 17/2 (1955). pp.303-4, about the Devrik Cümle school of modern Turkish literature, calls this kind of sentence a 'sentence-plus'.

and syntactical) and other parallel features whet the appetite of the reader or listener for further examples of ornate and imaginative writing in the tale which follows that sentence.

Somewhat surprisingly, perhaps, al-Boḥārī's use of the device is closer to Kāṣifī's in this respect, for he introduces the same merchant in this manner:

Dar vilāyatī kī ān-rā Dastābad gūyand  
bāzargānī būda-ast, hama rūzgār dar cam'-i  
dāniṣ-o-māl ba-sar borda va az har dū  
bahra'ī vāfir ba-dast āvarda.

(Zan 20b/15-16)

The construction here is essentially the same as is to be found in Kāṣifī's sentence. The greater elaborateness of al-Boḥārī's sentence as compared with that of Naṣrollāh can perhaps be explained by the former author's general favouring of devices frequently associated with oral story-tellers.

Another example of elaboration within the existing grammatical frame is seen in the following pair of excerpts from the tale of the Two Ducks and the Turtle:

Āvarda-and ki dar āb-gīrī dū baṭṭ va yakī  
bāḥa sākin būdand...

(NasM 110/14)

Āvarda-and ki dar āb-gīrī ki āb-aṣ az  
safā-yi zamīr ḡun āyina-yi sāfī 'aks-pazīr  
būdī va ba-'ozūbat-o-laṭāfat az 'ayno 'l-hayāt  
va ḡaṣma-yi Salsabīl ḡabar dādī, dū baṭṭ va

sang-poštī sākin būdand.

(Kas 141/21-23)

In this instance, Kāšifī's insertion of a doubled relative clause has given the opening lines of the tale a flavour far removed from that given by Naṣrollāh, yet the basic sentence remains intact. By making additions of this sort, Kāšifī never allows a noun employed in the description of a setting to pass without elaboration.

Another way in which Kāšifī elaborates within the existing framework is by increasing the number of elements fulfilling any given function, as when he changes Naṣrollāh's maẓmūn-i ẓamīr-i ū (NasM 100/7) to maknūn-i ẓamīr-o-maḥzūn-i ḥāṭir-i ū (Kas 124/6). Similarly, in Naṣrollāh we find:

Va nīz pūšīda na-ḥ<sup>v</sup>āhad mānd ki soḥan-i  
man az maḥẓ-i ṣafakat-o-amānat ravad va  
az ġaraẓ-o-rībat monazzah bāṣad.

(NasM 89/2-3)

whereas Kāšifī writes:

Va nīz pūšīda nīst ki soḥan az maḥẓ-i  
ṣafakat-o-‘ayn-i amānat mī-gūyam va  
ba-ṣakk-o-ṣobhat va ġaraẓ-o-‘illat  
ālūda na-mī-sāzam...

(Kas 113/20-21)

In both instances above, Kāšifī fills what he apparently saw to be stylistic lacunae in Naṣrollāh's version with words and

phrases suggested by that text; in so doing, Kāşifî creates passages which possess much better balance and greater interest.

In addition to a mere increase in the amount of included material, there is in the Anvār-i Sohaylî far greater attention paid to rationalization of the internal organization of sentences so that sac' and the parallelism of phrases and clauses comes to be of the first importance, with exactly reduplicated elements in the structure frequently removed so as to facilitate the flow and to increase the cohesion between parallel parts. Kāşifî's text, as shown in the previous chapter and the above excerpts, always boasts a tight structure with the relationship between each word and clause carefully worked out, regard being given not only to meaning but also to rhyme, rhythm, euphony, element lengths, nature of word formation and so on. In short, every aspect of language to which a poet would normally be expected to give attention is also exploited by Kāşifî. In comparison, al-Boḥārî gives relatively little consideration to such points, while Naşrollāh and Abū Fażl occupy a middle ground between al-Boḥārî and Kāşifî.

Perhaps more important than any other stylistic feature of the prose in the Anvār-i Sohaylî is the poetic dimension which Kāşifî gives to every facet, for he marries the two media and produces an elegance far removed from al-Boḥārî's plainness and much more graceful and refined than Naşrollāh's less sprightly prose. It is in this manner that the sentence has developed within the existing framework of word/element order and brought that structure to a greater effectiveness.

While accepted Turkish element order nowadays follows

the sequence "(1) subject, (2) expression of time, (3) expression of place, (4) indirect object, (5) direct object, (6) modifier of the verb, (7) verb",<sup>(1)</sup> it apparently was not immediately obvious to Turkish writers that they would be justified in following that pattern. Among the Turkish authors studied here, there at first appears to be a much greater degree of variation in word/element order (especially between Kul Mes'ūd and his successors in translation) than is to be found among Persian authors. It must be remembered, however, that Kul Mes'ūd wrote at a time when virtually no Turkish literary tradition was in existence, especially in the area of prose composition. It was his task to create a literary style out of almost nothing and so he turned, almost inevitably, to the highly-respected Nasrollāh for guidance. The resulting Turkish translation is, for the most part, utterly subservient to the element order of the Persian text, a point particularly noticeable in the area of relative clauses.

Although it is almost certain that in a Turkish conversation Mes'ūd would have followed the basic rule of that language, namely that all modifiers precede the lexical item being modified, it is possible that he never considered actually writing relative clauses in that manner, especially since such clauses in Persian and Arabic normally follow. An example of the same line in Nasrollāh and three Turkish versions is

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(1) G.L. Lewis, Turkish Grammar. Oxford, 1967. p.240.

the following:

[Va zāg] şikāyat bar şağāl bord ki dūst-i  
ū būd.

(NasK 85/14-15)

[Ve zāg] bir şağāla şikāyet eyledi kim  
ol zāgıñ dōstıyidi.

(Kul 19/26)

Ve [zāg] dōstlarından bir şağāla hālin  
hikāyet, ve düşmen-i bed-kār-u-bed-sigāldan  
şikāyet idüb...

(Ali 155/14-15)

Fakat [kargā] bu bābda diğēr komsusu çakālın  
da re'yini istifsāra gitdi.

(Mid 125/9-10)

Of the three Turkish authors' treatment of the same idea, only the versions of 'Alī Çelebi and Ahmed Midhat 'read' like Turkish, Kul Mes'ūd's reading instead like a strange brand of Persian. Turkish prose literature was soon to establish a tradition and standards, however, for within two centuries of Kul Mes'ūd's translation, 'Alī Çelebi and others were writing works which would be held in high esteem for generations.

With the exception of Mes'ūd's relative clauses and phrases, Turkish sentences changed over the years in essentially the same manner as did Persian, in that word/element order

remained largely static while the major change took place in the area of elaboration within the existing frame. 'Alī Çelebi represents the zenith in rhymed prose among the Turkish Kalīla wa-Dimna authors just as Kāşifī does among the Persians, for 'Alī proves to be equally keen in his application of the principles of poetry to narrative prose - as the large number of examples from the tale of the Hare and the Lion attest.

'Osmānzāda, like Abū Fażl, pares down the amount of prose composed by his predecessor and, in the same manner, sacrifices for the sake of brevity much material which had been painstakingly rhymed and balanced. In so doing, however, he does not alter the ordering of the elements, but only the number of them in use.

Among the Turkish versions we are fortunate in having the nineteenth-century Hulāsa-yı Hümāyūn-nāma of Ahmed Midhat Efendi, which in general provides a great contrast in style, but not in element order; although he had many more temporal verb forms with which to compose, Midhat's element pattern remains essentially the same as that of his predecessors.

In both Persian and Turkish, therefore, we find that word order has remained constant over the centuries while the degree of sentence elaboration has not. Only Kul Mes'ūd, who follows the only model available to him, writes in a manner which differs from his fellows. We may conclude that the ordering of elements has not been an important factor in the stylistic development of Persian and Turkish as literary language.

The verb phrase

Throughout the long period of literary development represented in these Kalīla wa-Dimna texts, verbal elements within texts have undergone remarkably little change. So minor is their development, in fact, that if one discounts vocabulary a speaker of modern Persian would have no difficulty in understanding the verbs and participles found in any of these Persian texts; the same is true of a twentieth-century Turk comprehending any of these Ottoman texts, although Kul Mes'ūd does include the occasional archaic verb ending such as -gil or -ven which would cause momentary confusion. Conversely, a Persian speaker of Nasrollāh's time or a Turkish contemporary of Mes'ūd would have little difficulty with modern verb structure, although the Turk would find the temporal clauses of the present-day language to be beyond his experience. In all of these texts, therefore, the verbal element of the sentence adheres closely to the pattern of tense and mood found in the grammars of Persian and Turkish today and almost all the changes which have occurred have been stylistic rather than grammatical.

Al-Boḥārī, for example, favours the full infinitive after impersonal verbs such as bāyistan and ṣāyistan, although he does occasionally use the shorter form:

Mā-rā pīš-i sīmorǧ bāyad raftan va aḥvāl  
bar vay 'arż kardan.

(Zan 42b/3)

Ḡāra bāyad sāḡt kī maksūd bar-āyad va cān



bar cāy bovad.

(Zan 30b/2)

In comparison with the other Persian authors, moreover, al-Boḥārī employs a disproportionate number of ba- prefixes with past tense verbs, so that the intensive force they might otherwise have had is greatly weakened:

    In ba-kard va ba-goft va ba-ḥoft.   Çūn  
    sā'atī ba-būd zan-i kafşgar bāz āmad.

(Zan 28b/7-8)

In addition to making the mono-syllabic verbs bi-syllabic (thus giving an orator increased scope for effects), the series of ba- prefixes acts almost conjunctively.

The three remaining Persian authors prefer the short infinitive after impersonal verbs, but Nasrollāh generally includes more past tense verbs with ba- than either Kāşifī or Abū Fażl, though fewer than al-Boḥārī:

Agar ḥāl ḡonīn bāşad, marā dil az cān-i  
şīrīn bar bāyad girift va ba-ranc-i  
gorsnagī balki bar talḡī-yi marg dil  
ba-bāyad nihād.

(NasK 86/16-17)

Va agar ḥāl ba-dīn minvāl bāşad, marā dil az  
cān-i şīrīn bar bāyad girift va bar talḡī-yi  
marg nihād.

(Kas 105/3-4)

Agar çonīn bāṣad, az cān-i šīrīn dil  
bāyad girift va bar talḥī-yi marg cān  
bāyad nihād.

(Abu 67/8)

Similarly, the Turkish authors differ to the same minor degree in their use of verbal elements. Mes'ūd, for example, at times uses singular verbs with plural human subjects, as:

Ve bugün oşbundan balıkçılar geçerdī,  
biri birine eydür kim...

(Kul 20/19-20)

Furthermore, he employs verb endings which were largely out of use by the time of 'Alī Çelebi:

Taytūy eyitdi: Bu maşalı işitmişven,  
velākin korkmağıl, yerūñ beklegil!

(Kul 41/7-8)

Neither of these points, however, is of more than passing interest in a study concerned solely with literary style.

In Persian there is effectively only one form of the participle used with verbal force in a sentence, that being the past participle -a. This general grammatical statement is, as one might expect, applicable to all four Persian versions of Kalīla wa-Dimna studied here. Examples of its employment

Mānand-i sovārī kī bar asp niṣīnad,  
bar ān ġūb niṣasta, pāna'ī mī-kanad  
va yakī mī-zanad.

(Zan 22a/3-4)

Āvarda-and ki ġūkī dar pahlū-yi mārī  
vaṭan sāhta būd va dar civār-i ān zālīm-i  
hūn-h<sup>v</sup>ār hāna girifta.

(Kas 154/16-17)

Āvarda-and ki zāġī dar kamar-i kūhī  
hāna sāhta būd va dar ţigāf-i sangī  
āşyāna dāşt.

(Abu 66/11-12)

The second and third of these quotations introduce tales and it should be noted that both of them begin with a past participle with an impersonal third person plural ending. Without exception, every tale in all four versions begins in this manner and all attributed poems or proverbs are also introduced in the same way. One would expect exactly the same sort of treatment in the Persian of today.

Ahmed Midhat is the only one of the Ottoman authors to make consistent use of the wide variety of conjunctive verbal forms available to the modern writer of Turkish. Temporal clauses in the three early versions are represented by -ip, -icek, -ince and iken, the first being by far the most common; almost entirely missing from those texts, however, are the very useful -meli, -erek, -cesine and other deverbal forms. Apart from its lack of ornament, the features which most distinguish Ahmed Midhat's Hulāsa-yı Hümāyūn-nāma from the renderings of all his predecessors is his inclusion of such a wide variety of these temporal clauses.

Although he only rarely employs any other temporal clauses, Kul Mes'ūd makes frequent, if haphazard, use of the -ip form, for on one occasion he writes:

Su bağası derdden iñledi ve gözinden  
yaş akıdub eyitdi...

(Kul 40/5)

but on another occasion writes:

...pes enesin, anı götüresin, uçasın  
şöylekim ādemīler gözinden dolunmayasın.

(Kul 22/15-17)

'Ali, too, frequently uses this ending, as in:

Şayyāduñ biri anı ol hālde görüb mürde  
hayāl idüb götürüb şahrāya atdı.

(Ali 173/20-21)

and on occasion uses the iken element:

Bu meşel maẓmūnından ma'lūm oldı ki  
melik Şetrebe bābında şitāb idüb fırsat-u-  
kudret var iken tīg-ı āb-dār la cān-ı  
hāksārına āteş-i demār vurub hırman-ı  
'ūmrin bād-ı fenāya vermek gerek.

(Ali 174/4-6)

Ahmed Midhat, on the other hand, uses the -meli, -erek and -cesine suffixes in addition to all the above forms:

Ancak yengec yenileceği mahāle takarrüb

edüb de balık kemiklerini uzakdan görünce  
encām-ı kārı añladı.

(Mid 128/10-11)

Cavāben "bir hīle tertīb itmek lāzım  
gelince anı öyle bir yolda tertīb itmeli  
ki kendiñe żarūr gelmek emkānınıñ onuñu  
kaṭ'iyen kapamalıdır. Ve illā hīle yapayım  
derken kendisi helāk olan balıkçın gibi  
olursun" diyerek bir balıkçın hıkāyesini  
ber vech-i ātī takrīr başıladı.

(Mid 125/15-126/3)

These relatively modern temporal clause suffixes, therefore, are the sole grammatical developments in verbal structure which affect the style of Ottoman Turkish; as they are found only in the occasional sentence, however, they cannot be considered to have been of major significance in the field of Turkish grammar. Likewise, one can see remarkable grammatical stability in the structure of both Persian and Turkish during the period covered here, and there certainly was no change which could affect style to any appreciable degree.

#### The noun phrase

The noun phrase, like the verb phrase and the sentence as a whole, survives in a form which reflects the innate conservatism



of grammar, for all of the Persian and Turkish versions maintain the same forms and rules throughout the long period under discussion. Virtually unaltered in all the renderings are the pronominal prefixes and suffixes, particles and demonstratives, the only real change being that Ottoman Turkish adopts the Persian izāfa in all its forms and employs the Persian device alongside, and on equal terms with, its own constructions.

The izāfa is employed in exactly the same manner in all the Persian renderings of Kalīla wa-Dimna, in that it modifies the noun by indicating possession or by connecting it with adjectives. In either case the modifying element normally follows the noun described and the relationship is denoted by an unwritten kasra. In the opposite manner, Turkish modifiers normally precede the word described, adjectives being uninflected but genitive possession being indicated by a suffix on one or both words. The Turkish versions all use this method of describing nouns.

Even Kul Mes'ūd, who was earlier shown to follow closely the word order set by Naṣrollāh, especially in the area of relative clauses, follows the Turkish practice with such modifiers and only occasionally resorts to Persian izāfas. An example of Mes'ūd's unusual style in this respect is the following excerpt from his text:

Getürmişlerdür kim bir az sermāyelü  
bāzırgān varıdı, diledi kim sefer eyleye.  
Anuñ yüz batman demüri varıdı, bir dōst  
evinde emānet kodı, gitdi.

(Kul 48/13-15)

In this pair of sentences bir az sermāvelü bāzırḡān, yüz batman demür, anuñ...demüri and bir dōst evinde all follow a strictly Turkish pattern. By the time of 'Alī Çelebi, however, the Persian iẓāfa had won acceptance in Ottoman Turkish to such a degree that both the Persian and the Turkish forms are found in the Hümāyūn-nāma in almost equal force. It is this phenomenon in Ottoman style which gives Turkish such expressive potential - and which, simultaneously, can render it almost incomprehensible in the hands of a careless writer. This capacity for flexibility is shown in this passage from the Hümāyūn-nāma:

Ammā bu sūret baña dāmengīrdür ki rüzīgār-ı  
dirāz dur ki aña mezīd-i takrīb-ü-i'tibārla  
ihtisās virdüm, ve rāyet-i terbiyet-ü-  
takviyetin evc-i āsmāna irgürdüm...

(Ali 179/14-16)

This simultaneous employment in Ottoman of Persian and Turkish forms was to continue until the twentieth century and can be found in the versions of 'Osmānzāda and Ahmed Midhat.

Entirely unaltered in both languages are the pronominal (or personal) suffixes and the particles (such as bī-, bā-, nā-, -ī, -dār and -āna in Persian and -sız, -li, -lik, -cik and -dāş in Turkish). Similarly, the demonstratives in Persian have not evolved in any way, although in Turkish ol and şol have each lost a letter, becoming o and şu.

Stylistically, therefore, the most significant change in Persian and Turkish noun phrases has been the borrowing by the latter language of the former's iẓāfa, a device which was to

remain a foreign and highly un-Turkish element in spite of its extensive use. The fact that it was never really accepted in non-literary Turkish and has not survived - except in isolated instances - in the language of today, lends weight to the opinion that the izāfa is a stylistic accretion, not a new form in Turkish grammar - although one could reasonably say that Ottoman grammar is quite separate from Turkish grammar.

#### Arabic/Persian vocabulary content

The renderings of Kalīla wa-Dimna vary greatly according to the amount of foreign vocabulary which the authors include in their prose. In the Persian texts this would refer to the employment of Arabic words and in the Turkish to the use of Arabic or Persian words.

Of all the eight versions, the one containing the lowest proportion of foreign vocabulary is the Persian translation by al-Boḥārī which uses remarkably few Arabic words. This stands in strong contrast to its contemporary Kalīla va Dimna-yi Bahrāmshāhī in which Arabic words abound. Although Kāṣifī later notes that many of the Arabic words used by Naṣrollāh are awkward and unusual, Bahār feels that it is this text which is responsible for the introduction of many new Arabic words into common usage in Persian literature.<sup>(1)</sup> The difference between these two early works is explained by their prospective

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(1) Kas, p.7. Sabk, II, pp.262 - 70.



audiences, for Nasrollāh wrote at and for a very well-educated court, while al-Boḥārī directed his version toward people of limited education and literary experience.

Kāṣifī, too, uses a high proportion of Arabic words - so many, in fact, that Abū Faḏl was commissioned by Akbar to remove or simplify many of them. The Arabic words found in the Anvār-i Sohaylī, however, are generally much closer than Nasrollāh's to those in use in modern Persian and, as such, seem more 'natural' from a twentieth-century point of view. Although this in itself is not a valid basis for judgement, it is indicative of which Arabic words had found a general acceptance in literary Persian by the time of Kāṣifī.

Kul Mes'ūd, the earliest of the Turkish writers, employs a much higher proportion of Turkish words than his three successors for he, too, was writing in a society where few people were well-versed in foreign languages. Exactly the reverse is true both of 'Alī Çelebi's audience and of his Hümāyūn-nāma, for he draws upon essentially the same range of Persian and Arabic vocabulary as does Kāṣifī, largely confining his use of Turkish words to verbs and post-positions.

While 'Osmanzāda for the most part follows 'Alī's lead in the matter of vocabulary, simplifying only a few words, Ahmed Midhat completely renovates the text so that the words he uses reflect more realistically those in the active vocabulary of educated Turks of the late nineteenth century. Thus there are many more Turkish words of all parts of speech and the proportion of Persian and Arabic is greatly reduced.

Selection of words, like the choice of sentence structure,

is important in prose literature of the type studied here, for words are the basic elements of such features as rhythm and rhyme. Like sentence structure, however, it is not the words themselves which have changed over the centuries, but only the use to which the various authors have chosen to put them.

From this brief survey it can be seen that throughout the period under discussion there were no important innovations in the syntax of Persian or Turkish. In all areas of language the structure of sentence and sentence elements remains remarkably similar to that which prevailed early in their respective literary histories. This being the case, the transformations which have altered the entire character of Persian and Turkish over the same period must have been due to the cumulative effect of a succession of authors each developing his own individual style. It is the nature of this stylistic development which will be analyzed in greater detail in the following chapters.

### CHAPTER III

#### RHETORICAL FEATURES

With regard to the use of such rhetorical features as simile, metaphor, allusion, sac', repetition etc., there is a clearly discernable pattern of development and decline among the versions of Kalīla wa-Dimna here studied. Of the Persian works, that by al-Boḥārī represents the earliest and least sophisticated use of such features - in spite of the fact that it was contemporary with Nasrollāh's work. In the Kalīla va Dimna-yi Bahrāmshāhī a much wider and more imaginative use of these features may be observed. Kāṣifī augments this growth of rhetoric and develops it to its limits in Persian, but his successor Abū Faḡl reverses the trend by deleting much from the Anvār-i Sohaylī.

The same general model also applies to the Turkish versions of the work. Kul Mes'ūd rarely reaches beyond Nasrollāh's text, whereas 'Alī Çelebi usually enlarges upon the Anvār-i Sohaylī, reinforcing these features to such a degree that the Hümāyūn-nāma represents the pinnacle of rhetorical development among the Arabic, Persian and Turkish versions studied here. Traditional rhetorical content declines with 'Osmānzāda, who carries over little from 'Alī's text and creates almost none himself, and it becomes practically non-existent in Ahmed Midhat's version, which in many respects reads like the traditionally unornamented Aesop's Fables of Western European languages.

This pattern of rise and fall in the use of rhetoric reflects changes in Middle Eastern education over the same period. Thus al-Boḥārī writes for a minor, and probably poorly-educated, court,

whereas Nasrollāh writes at the influential, prestigious and doubtless better-educated court of Bahrāmshāh, in which Arabic works would be widely read along with the relatively small amount of Persian literature then in existence. Kāshifī writes for the court of Hosayn Baykarā, at which there was a very strong tradition in Persian literature but a declining one in Arabic. Akbar Shāh, for whom Abū Faḡl writes, is known to have commissioned simplifications of several Persian literary works, twice including versions of Kalīla va Dimna, which no doubt reflects the fact that for many in his realm Persian was a second, or even a third, language.

On the Turkish side, the standard of education at the Aydın Oğlu court in Kul Mes'ūd's time must have been very low, with virtually no Turkish literary tradition and rather feeble Arabic and Persian ones. At the opposite extreme, 'Alī Çelebi writes during the reign of Süleyman I, at which time the level of instruction among the educated was extremely high, especially in Turkish and Persian literature.

By the time of 'Osmānzāda, both the Ottoman Empire and its education were in decline so that, in general, there was less appreciation of the traditional rhetorical features associated with a high level of sophistication. The last Turkish author, Ahmed Midhat, lived in the age of the 'Young Ottomans', stronger ties with Western Europe (and a near worship of its culture) and more nearly universal education; it would have been impossible for him to write in anything but a style far removed from the traditional high Ottoman and more in step with his own age.

Although the foregoing summary includes sweeping generalizations

about each author's age, on the whole it presents an accurate picture of the degrees and types of sophistication of the readers for whom each author wrote. The rhetorical features treated in this chapter mirror these writers' assessments of their respective audiences.

#### A. Sac'

Probably the one dominant characteristic of both Persian and Ottoman Turkish prose writing is the use of rhyme to indicate parallelism in the creation and development of the exposition. There is no observable pattern in this rhyming of syntactical elements, and the attempts by native writers to classify such sac' constructions as morassa', motawāzī, motarraḥ and motawāzin should be regarded as entirely artificial in the context of prose writing. This topic forms a part of the 'ilm al-badī' and here is treated with the same attitude as the other tropes of rhetoric with which it deals; proceeding from the observation of the passages of artistic value, these theorists characteristically attempt to reduce the trope to formulae which were hardly ever regarded as patterns to be imitated by men of talent in their writing.

Whereas rhyme provides an index of relationship between the elements of the statement, it can be seen that its true purpose is to regulate the reading of the passage into rhythmical components and in this way to establish a variable pace which ideally would accord with the content. In this respect it must be apparent that those classifications of sac' as offered by the native rhetoricians are entirely artificial and that the

application of them would, in great measure, invalidate the use of this device in its proper function of parsing the phrase.

Sac' has, as a complement to the above, the further employment as an indicator of the syntactical relationship of the various elements in the sentence; this may be between a subject and a predicate, a noun and an adjective, and a series of predicates in a compound sentence provided with only one finite verb.

These are, of course, merely the most frequent circumstances in which rhyme is used, for in prose of this type the possibilities for rhyme are nearly as wide as they are in poetry and serve the same purposes.

Strictly speaking, a sac' relationship between words, phrases, clauses etc., demands the presence of rhyme, kāfiya. In the rhetoric of Arabic, two sorts of rhyme are recognised: the first is the 'poetic rhyme', kāfiya-yi ṣi'rī, which closely resembles the Western concept of rhyme and is based upon words ending with the same group of sounds, such as ḡurūb and mahbūb, vakīl and salsabīl. The second kind of rhyme is 'syntactical', kāfiya-yi nahvi, and occurs between words of similar form which may or may not be in poetic rhyme, such as mo'attar and munauvar, harb and ẓarb, ma'tūf and mazlūm, and barābar and sarāsar. (Many, however, would disqualify the last pair on the ground that they are not found in Arabic, maintaining that only words that can be designated by the Arabic paradigm fa'ala would be admissible.)

Another related device which aids in the parsing of a clause or sentence is izdivāc, the pairing of similar words or phrases. This usually occurs between elements containing either poetic or

syntactical rhyme, or displaying similarities of sound or spelling. Examples would be: Nūṣ bī-nīṣ nīst, or Mard-i bī-savāb mard-i bī-savāb bāṣad. The term izdivāc is also applied to pairs which are visually similar when written, that is, having the same basic shape and differing only through the presence or absence of diacritical points. Examples of this second sort of izdivāc are ḡāfil and ʿākīl, māl and maʿāl.

Although the use of sacʿ predates the Islamic era by some centuries (Ibn Hiṣām notes that it was one of the most important elements of composition during the Jahiliyya period<sup>(1)</sup>) several centuries were to elapse after the rise of Islam before the form would definitely establish itself in polite literature. Although the earliest examples of sacʿ in Islam are to be found in the Kurʿān itself, Cāhiṣ and others relate that the Prophet rebuked a follower who had addressed him using sacʿ.<sup>(2)</sup> It is probably for this reason that the device fell from general favour during the first centuries of Islam, though there are known instances of its use by various individuals in the Hutba, private correspondence and the like.

Throughout the second and, especially, the third centuries of Islam, the use of sacʿ gradually regained some of its former popularity and respectability among Arabs and is found with increasing frequency in literature, private letters, tales and oratory. Coincidentally, Ibn Mukaffaʿ is often considered one of the first Islamic authors to make free use of the form, though his employment of sacʿ in Kalīla wa-Dimna is sparing in comparison with that of later writers.

As sacʿ is merely the application of certain poetic principles

(1) Sira, I, p.194. Ḥatībī. p.72.

(2) Ḥatībī. p.73. Sabk. II, pp.231-32.



to prose writing, it had probably long been known to the Persians, with their national predilection for poetry. Its wider use in formal literature, however, was likely inspired initially by Arabic examples, taking root and flourishing on its own in Persian until it reached a point far beyond anything known in Arabic.

It is generally accepted that the first Persian - or Darī - author to recognize the potential of sac' and to adorn his Persian prose with it was the Hanbalī theologian H<sup>v</sup>āca 'Abdollāh Anṣārī Hiravī (A.D. 1005 - 1088), who composed numerous religious works ranging from Arabic treatises (such as Manāzil as-Sūfiya) to books of prayer in his native Darī.<sup>(1)</sup> In the latter works Anṣārī appeals to his readers with a very persuasive style. His Monācāt, for example, is a subtle blend of balanced sac' sentences with poetry and proverbs - which Rypka notes must have influenced Sa'dī,<sup>(2)</sup> and probably also Nasrollāh a century later.

The pattern and scale of Anṣārī's rhyming is surprisingly complex for a pioneering work, because he not only rhymes single syllables of terminating verbs in clauses, but bases his sac' on two and even three syllables in both verbal and non-verbal elements of the sentence. This technique enables him to foreground words and ideas in a manner never before available to writers of Persian.

In Anṣārī, therefore, we find sac' of a sophistication and concentration not to be seen again in Persian literature for a

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(1) Sabk. II, p.240. Ḥatībī. pp.90-91.

(2) Rypka. p.235.



considerable time. Throughout the remainder of the fifth Islamic century, sac' was largely confined to the formalized introductions of such Persian works as Nizām-al-Molk's Sayar al-Molūk and the H<sup>v</sup>ān al-Ihvān and Cāmī' al-Hikmatayn of Nāsir-i Hosrau; the rhymes, too, were restricted mainly to single syllables at the end of verbs, thus producing a high frequency of -ast rhymes.

Once Ansārī has broken the barrier, the use of sac' in Persian prose moves from strength to strength so that during succeeding centuries rhyming becomes an essential element and '... appears rather as something quite inevitable than as a decorative necessity, because without it the sentence would be less comprehensible than it already is.'<sup>(1)</sup> It is, of course, its persing properties which make it increasingly important in such works as Nasrollāh's Kalīla va Dimna, Sa'd ad-Dīn Varāvīnī's Marzobān-nāma, Mohāmmad 'Aufī's Cavāmi' al-Hikāyat Jovaynī's Tārīh-i Cahān-gosāy, culminating in the Golistān of Sa'dī, the Tārīh-i Vassāf and Kāşifī's Anvār-i Sohaylī. With the last two works the art of sac' seems to have reached its aesthetic and practical limits, for from here on its use falls into a gradual decline from which it never recovers.

In many ways the rise and fall of sac' in Ottoman prose writings parallels the Persian experience - as well it should, for Ottoman literature was largely dependent upon inspiration from Persian during its formative years. As many of the first Turkish prose works were translations of such Persian ones as

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(1) Rypka, p.110.

Naşrollāh's Kalīla va Dimna and the Marzobān-nāma, it is only natural that the Turkish writers involved should try to carry into their own language the rhyming device already established in Persian prose. Their success in doing so is in large part due to the fact that Ottoman and pre-Ottoman Turkish with its high Arabic and Persian vocabulary content and system of inflection is ideally suited to sac'.

A further influence upon Ottoman prose was Fuḫūlī, a contemporary of Kāşifī at the same court, who in his Ravzat ul-Şühedā and Şikāyet-nāma displays great imagination in creating intricate and involved patterns of rhyme. Among the Ottomans such authors as Cevdet Paşa, Nargisī and 'Alī Çelebi bring Turkish sac' to its highest point of intricacy and elegance. As with Persian, soon after this culmination Ottoman sac' begins a slow but steady decline as it, too, has reached the practical limits of its development.

The art of sac' is not without its Western critics, just as we have seen the case to be with the Anvār-i Sohaylī. Rypka, quoted recently, implies his distaste for the device; (1)

F. Krenkow more than implies his dislike, however, for he writes:

... everything is sacrificed for the jingling rhymes. This exuberance of sadj' may be due to the bad taste of the Persians who from 'Abbāsid times increasingly took a larger share in Arabic letters; the disease seems to spread gradually towards the West and has become one

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(1) Rypka, p.110.

of the main causes why so much of Muhammadan literature, whether Arabic, Persian, Turkish or any other language under their influence, does not appeal to European taste. (1)

In the Zangid translation of Kalīla va Dimna the sophistication of sac' patterning is approximately a century behind what one could reasonably expect in a prose work of A.D. 1149, in that sac' is restricted mostly to the dībāça and introductory chapters and used only to a limited extent in the main body of the text, as will be noted later. Secondly, outside the dībāça rhymes are usually on a single syllable and for the most part based upon verbs which terminate clauses; this is a point beyond which Ansārī had progressed a century or more earlier.

As has been intimated, al-Boḥārī expends his greatest rhetorical effort in the adornment of the dībāça, and is largely successful in this endeavour as the following lines from folio 1b testify. (Clauses are numbered for later convenience and bear no relation to line numbers in the manuscript.)

- (1) Sipās-o-ḥamd-o-sanā ān pādšāh-rā kī pargār-i koḍrat  
gird-i nokta-yi irādat gardān kard,
- (2) va dar-yāftan-i calāl-o-'aẓmat-i ḥ<sup>v</sup>ad-rā az dīdan-i  
dīda-yi har tālibī nihān kard,
- (3) tā har-k ba-kām-i ṭalab dar maydān-i ma'rifat-i ū  
ba-ṣitāft,
- (4) az nihāyat-i ma'ārif-i ū ba-coz hastī hīç nişān  
na-yāft,
- (5) va har-ki dar-īn daryā kaştī-yi fikrat-rā pīş rānad,

- - - - -

(1) F. Krenkow, 'Sadj'. EI.

- (6) az carā'id-i hayrat coz kaṣā'id-i hasrat na-h<sup>v</sup>ānad;  
 (7) zāt-i camāl-i ū az taṣauvor-i havātīr-o-fikr dūr,  
 (8) va afhām-o-auhām az taklīf-i sifāt-i ū mahcūr;  
 (9) tīr-i tadkīk-i modakkīkān az niṣāna-yi olūhiyat-i ū  
ba-dast-i kods bāz-dāsta,  
 (10) va tamāsīl-i aṣḡ-i vaḥdānīyat-i ū dar sīna-yi  
movahhidān ba-kalam-i tahannon-o-taṣdīk-o-tahkīk  
ba-gāsta;  
 (11) 'acā'ib-i san'-i ū gardan-kaṣān-i ḡalālāt-rā  
ba-kamand-i istidlāl ba-bārgāh-i ma'rifat-i ū  
kaṣīda,  
 (12) va sīna-yi movahhidān dar hocra-yi tauhīd-i ū bar  
farṣ-i yakīn āramīda.

The most noticeable aspect of the foregoing passage is that it consists of paired clauses roughly equal to each other in length and containing rhyming final verbs. Next one sees that there is a considerable amount of internal rhyming in most of the clauses and a degree of parallelism between paired clauses as well as between pairs of paired clauses. Looking more closely we notice the following sac' relationships:-

The first pair of clauses are approximately equal in length and weight, and are 'joined' by an identical verb, kard, plus rhyming verbal nouns, gardān and niḡān. There are also secondary rhymes between kodrat, irādat and 'azmat. (In the transcribed text the first rhyme in a series has been underscored once, the second twice, etc.) In addition to the above-noted sac', each clause is split in approximately the same place by a noun and

accompanying post-positional -rā.

In clauses three and four there is a secondary rhyme between ma'rifat and niḥāyat. The fifth and sixth share little except the verb rhyme although there are rhymes, both poetic and syntactical within clause six. In organization, parallelism may be observed between clauses three and five, and clauses four and six.

The eighth clause contains a pair that is both syntactically and poetically rhymed - an example of izdivāc - and in the seventh the pair taṣauvor and ḥavāṭir are close enough in form to give the impression of a poetic rhyme. The organisation of these two clauses is roughly parallel.

In clauses nine to twelve we note the same kinds of relationships, but with the additional unifying factor of two Arabic trilliterals, d-k-k and w-h-d, appearing in several forms throughout these clauses. Likewise, there are numerous cases of alliteration and assonance in the twelve clauses, which support the other unifying factors.

The overall effect is refreshing and engaging, and indicates that al-Boḥārī was capable of composing acceptable sac' when he wished, although the quality does not really approach that of Ansārī's rhymed prose, nor that of his contemporary Nasrollāh.

Whereas al-Boḥārī embellishes each line of his dībāḥa with rhyme, in the main body of the text he uses the device very sparingly. Often the words of King Dābiḡlīm (or 'Dīslam' as the manuscript styles him) to Bidpay ('Bīdyā') are in sac', as are occasionally the pronouncements of kings within the stories. Thus the chapter of the Lion and the Bull begins with Dābiḡlīm

addressing Bidpay:

Basī pand-hā-yi hūb mā-rā ba-dādī, va basī dar-hā-yi  
hikmat bar mā goṣādi. Az tū dar mī-h<sup>v</sup>āham kī az bahr-i  
mā masalī zanī va mānandī paydā konī dar miyān-i dū  
dūst-i yagāna kī bad-gūy dar miyān-i īṣān rāh yābad, va  
dūstī-yi īṣān doṣmanī gardānad, va nazdikī-yi īṣān-rā  
dūrī konad.

(Zan 20b/10-12; 40/4-7)

The philosopher replies in kind:

Dīr ast tā har dūstī kī dū-rūy-vo-sohan-ḡīn dar vay  
rāh yāft 'adāvat gardad, va har safā'ī kī nammām dast  
dar vay āvard tīra gardad.

(Zan 20b/13-14; 40/9,10)

and then continues in unadorned prose to relate the story which serves as the frame for the entire chapter.

In both of the above quotations rhyme is confined to the final syllable of the verb ending each clause, thus representing the least advanced form of sac'; given the overall style of the work, however, anything more elaborate would probably have seemed out of place.

Another circumstance for which al-Boḡarī deems the use of sac' appropriate is when a king within a tale is philosophizing or commanding, as occurs in a passage where the lion-king addresses Dimna:

Ba-dān maḡrūr na-bāyad gaṣtan va īn ḡāl-rā bar za'f ḡaml  
na-bāyad kardan; kī bād-i saḡt bar giyāhī-yi ḡ<sup>v</sup>ord  
ba-goṣārad va ba-ziyān nay-āvarad, ammā ḡūn ba-diraḡtī-yi  
bozorg rasad az bon-o-biḡ bar-kaṣad. Va ham-ḡonīn

bozorgān bar yak-i dīgar zanand va ba-kūçak-tar-i ān  
kasd-i kam-tar konand.

(Zan 26b/7-9)

To this Dimna replies, initially talking about their circumstances in unadorned prose, and then turning to sac' to say:

Agar farmāyad, ba-ravam va ū-rā (Şanzaba-rā) pīş-i  
hodāvand ba-hīdmat bay-āvaram, tā kamar-i bandagī bar  
miyān bandad va dast az āstīn-i çakarī bīrūn ārad va  
farmān bar-dar va motī' bovad.

(Zan 26b/13-15)

A further example of the lion-king changing to sac' occurs near the end of the chapter about Dimna's trial when the lion-king learns of the jackal's perfidy, and:

... ba-farmūd kī Dimna-rā basta dar zandān ba-gozārand va  
dar zandān ba-zārand, tā az gorsnagī-vo-tiṣnagī ba-mīrad  
va har-k hāl-i vay bīnad pand gīrad.

(Zan 59a/14-15)

It is interesting to observe how al-Boḥārī uses this rather subtle device of changing 'registers' (i.e. altering the style and level of expression)<sup>(1)</sup> to accord with the dignity or gravity of the speaker and his utterance. (This same means of change of registers, incidentally, is used by Shakespeare several centuries later.) One wonders how much al-Boḥārī was actually aware of his employment of the technique.

An instance of al-Boḥārī using sac' very effectively in short, clipped clauses is seen in the following stinging attack

- - - - -

(1) Chapman, p.11.

by Kalīla upon Dimna:

Ay faṣal-āmīz-o-nayrang-angīz, ba-nigar kī ḡi nā-sazāvār-  
kārī kardī va ḡi bozorg ṣūrī angiḡtī! Na pindāram kī  
ancām-i īn kār sitūda āyad, bal kī nāḡār īn mo‘āmalat-i  
tū torā rūzī ba-gazāyad.

(Zan 44a/1-3)

The last category in which we find sac in this version of  
Kalīla va Dimna is the quotation of proverbs or aphorisms, as  
follows:

Goftār-o-kirdār agar nīk bovad va agar bad, bī-mokāfāt  
na-mānad.

(Zan 54a/9-10)

and:

‘Iyāl-i ḡayista-vo-parsā har dū cahān-ast, va ārayiṣ-i  
dil-o-cān-ast.

(Zan 83a/7)

and:

Ammā har-k tan-i āsānī gozīnad, hīc morād-o-kām na-yābad-  
o-na-bīnad; va har-k az ranc ba-tarsad, ba-ganc na-rasad.

(Zan 23b/15-16)

In such sage sayings the colloquial nature of this version is  
immediately obvious, for they sound as though they were current  
during al-Boḡarī's time and were merely recorded by him. Such  
inclusions add greatly to the enjoyment of reading his translation.

#### Nasrollāh's version of Kalīla va Dimna

Because it is rather the exception than the rule to find



clauses linked by rhymed final verbs in the Kalīla va Dimna-yi Bahrāmšāhī, the initial impression of a reader might be that Nasrollāh does not use sac'. The sac' which he utilizes, however, is frequently of a rather subtle form, based upon poetic and syntactical rhyming between words or groups of words within the clause, which gives individual clauses a greater tension and air of completeness. An example of Nasrollāh's more subtle style would be the following excerpt which contains no rhymed verbs to announce parallel clauses, yet displays two sorts of sac':

Va ān-ki ġaflat bar ahvāl-i vay ġālib va 'acz dar af'āl-i  
vay zāhir būd, hayrān-o-sar-gardān va madhūs-o-pāy-kaşān  
çap-o-rāst mī-raft va dar farāz-o-naşīb mī-dovīd tā  
giriftār şod.

(NasM 92/12-13)

The first rhyme is between the exactly balanced (and parallel) phrases beginning in bar and dar respectively, and is simultaneously poetic and syntactical because of ahvāl and af'āl being Arabic words of the same form. The next words, ġālib and zāhir, rhyme only in a syntactical sense, whereas three of the following four adverbs share the -ān termination, rhyming according to an a-a-b-a pattern.

Interestingly, this same pattern of three out of four being in rhyme is a fairly common one in this text, as:

Çün nakş-i vāki'a-vo-sūrat-i hādīsa paydā āmad, dar ān  
ġāfil-o-cāhil va dūrbīn-o-'akīl yaksān bāşand ...

(NasM 90/7-8)

Not all quadruple elements in this version are related in the above fashion, for Nasrollāh frequently puts such groups into an

a-b-c-b relationship, as:

Agar ba-dān tahvīl tavānīd kard, dar amn-o-rāḥat va  
ḥisb-o-firāḡat oftīd.

(NasM 84/1)

or with a purely syntactical a-b-c-b rhyme:

Va gofta-and ki ḡun pādšāh yakī-rā az ḥidmatkārān dar  
ḥormat-o-cāḥ va tab'-o-māl dar mokābala-vo-movāzana-yi  
ḥ<sup>v</sup>iṣ dīd, zūd az dast bar bāyad dāšt va illā ḥ<sup>v</sup>ad az pāy  
dar āyad.

(NasM 89/16-90/2)

The same rhyme scheme occurs here:

... va agar ba-ḥilāf-i ān kārī ittifāk oftād, bārī karm-o-  
ḥamiyyat va mardānagī-vo-sahāmat-i ū mat'ūn na-gardad, va  
bā sa'adat-i ṡahādat ū-rā savāb-i mocāḥadat farāḥam āyad.

(NasM 85/2-4)

but in this instance the sac' relationship is extended to words  
in the following clause both in terms of a simple poetic rhyme  
and a syntactical one between sa'adat, ṡahādat and sahāmat.  
Or, in such groupings, occasionally all four elements rhyme, in  
the following case syntactically:

... va dast-i ū dar amr-o-naḥī va ḥall-o-'akd goṡāda-vo-  
motlak kard ...

(NasM 89/14-15)

On the other hand, Nasrollāh obviously does not see any  
obligation to give all such groupings of four items an extra-  
syntactical homogeneity:

Dirīḡ ṡanzaba bā ḡandān 'akl-o-kayāsāt va ra'y-o-honar!

(NasM 123/13)

Kāṣifī did not tolerate such laxity and consequently altered the same passage to read:

Dirīg az Ṣatraba bā ṣandān 'akl-o-hīrad va ra'y-o-honar!

(Kas 164/14)

Nasrollāh does, of course, use the more common form of sac' - the rhyming of final verbs in clauses - as well as the internal variety described above. This is illustrated by the following passage.

Goftand: Nīkū ra'y-īst, lākin nakl bī-ma'ūnat-o-mozāhirat-i tū momkin nīst.

Goft: Dirīg na-dāram, amma moddat gīrad va sā'at tā sā'at sayyādān bay-āyand va forsat fāyit ṣavad.

Bisyār tažarro' nomūdand va minnat-hā taḥammol kardand tā bar ān karār-dād, ki har rūz ṣand māhī ba-bordī va bar bālā'ī ki dar ān havālī būd ba-h<sup>v</sup>ordī. Va dīgarān dar ān tahvīl ta'cīl-o-mosāra'at nomūdand va bā yak-i dīgar piṣ-dast-o-mosābakat mi-kardand, va h<sup>v</sup>ad dar ṣaṣm-i 'ibrat dar sahv-o-ḡaflat-i iṣān mī-nigārīst.

(NasM 84/1-6)

In this selection are samples of several styles of rhyme, all based upon principles already discussed. (Although some may object to seeing ṣaṣm, a Persian word, labelled as being in syntactical rhyme with the Arabic sahv, in this sentence they can hardly be anything else.)

Thus we see in Nasrollāh a decline in the frequency of end-of-clause rhymes and a simultaneous rise in the occurrence of rhymed elements within individual clauses. He is far more conscious of the possibilities of syntactical rhyme than is

al-Boḥārī, apparently regarding it on its own as the equal of poetic rhyme and the two in combination as the supreme rhyme. Conversely, where al-Boḥārī uses sac' to indicate the register of the narrative or of a speaker, it would appear that Naṣrollāh applies the device with little thought given to this possibility. All in all, however, Naṣrollāh's employment of sac' is imaginative, erudite, low-keyed and a delight to read.

Hosayn Vā'iz Kāṣifī's Anvār-i Sohaylī

In striking contrast to Naṣrollāh's subtlety in the craft of sac' is the near-brashness of Kāṣifī, who rarely allows a clause of the Anvār-i Sohaylī to escape unrhymed. This characteristic, rather than upsetting the fine balance and detracting from the work, is entirely in keeping with the rest of Kāṣifī's style, so that the overall impression he gives is that of a writer exercising total control over his text and moulding that text to its best advantage. In so doing, he leaves little doubt that he is a true master of the art of ornate language and possesses a formidable command of both Persian and Arabic.

An example of the thoroughness of Kāṣifī's sac' patterning is this address by Dimna to the lion-king which warns that continued friendship with the bull Şanzaba could be dangerous for the lion:

Ra'y-i sā'ib-o-tadbīr-i dorost ān-ast, ki ġūn dūstī  
asar-i doṣmanī zāhir ġardad, va az ḥidmat-kārī navāht-i  
mihtarī moṣāhida oftad, fi'l-hāl atrāf-i kār-i ḥ<sup>v</sup>ad-rā

farāham ārand, va dāman az movāfakat-o-morāfakat-i īsān  
dar-ġīn[an]d; va biṣ-tar az ān-ki ḥaṣm forṣat-i ḡaṣt  
yābad, barā-yi ū ṣāmī-yi moḥayyā sāzanad; va bā vocūd-i  
ān-ki dandān bā ādamī moṣāhib-i kadīmī bāṣad va az ū  
anvā'-yi favā'id-o-manāfi' ba-vay rasad, ḡun dard girift  
coz ba-kal' az ranc-i ū ṣafā na-tavān yāft; va ta'amī ki  
ba-dil mā yatahallal va momidd-i mādā-yi ḥayāt-ast ḡun  
fāsid ḡaṣt coz ba-daf' az maḡarrat-i ū ḥalāsī na-tavān  
yāft.

(Kas 122/5-11)

In this selection, all but two of the clauses are paired by virtue of final-verb rhyme and at least a measure of parallelism in which many of the parallel elements are either in rhyme or nearly in rhyme. As with Nasrollāh, rhymes are often syntactical as well as poetic, such as movāfakat and morāfakat in the above passage, and at times words merely scan in the same manner though they may not be of the same form, as is true of moṣāhib, favā'id and manāfi' above.

As Rypka noted above, sac' serves a greater function in some works of Persian literature than the mere pleasant rhyming of words; it also acts as a self-punctuation device for prose. Perhaps nowhere is this latter function more evident than in the Anvār-i Soḥaylī, for the reading of much of the work is largely dependent upon rhyme and parallelism of elements to indicate a path through what might otherwise be a maze of words. This is certainly the case with the above passage as it is with the following:

Dū rafīk ki yakī Sālim nām dāṣt va dīgarī Ġānim dar rāhī

mī-raftand, va ba-morāfakat-i yak-dīgar manāzil-o-marāhil  
kat' mī-kardand. Gozar-i īṣān bar dāman-i kūhī oftād, ki  
kolla-yaṣ bā sabz hing-i falak 'inān dar 'inān dāstī, va  
kamar-aṣ bā sath montakato'l-borūc rikāb dar rikāb bastī;  
 va dar pā-yi ān kūh ḡaṣma-yi ābī būd ba-ṣafā ḡun  
rohsāra-yi tāza-rūyān-i gol-'izar, va ba-ḡalāvat ḡun  
soḡan-i ṣakar-labān-i ṣirīn-goftar. Dar pīṣ-i ḡaṣma  
ḡauṣī-yi bozorg-sāḡta, va girdāgird-i ān dirāḡtān-i  
sāya-dār sar dar sar āvarda.

(Kas 77/10-15)

Once one has determined the end-of-clause rhymes in this section, parallelisms between clauses and rhymes within clauses rapidly develop into a pattern which, in turn, determines the rhythm and flow of its reading. This done, there can be little doubt about the punctuation and parsing of the whole. Such prose is satisfying because it has a certain aura of inevitability about it; having read the clause beginning ...ki kolla-yaṣ..., for example, it would not only be surprising if a similar one did not follow, it would also be almost disappointing. The same may be said of the clause pair following ...ḡaṣma-yi ābī būd.... To this style of writing, sac' is much more than ornament: it is a vital part of the entire syntactical framework and a device without which the Anvār-i Soḡaylī could never have been conceived.

Kāṣifī, too, makes wide-ranging use of syntactical rhyme in his writing, examples of which from the above section are manāzil and marāhil, bā sabz and bā sath, 'inān dar 'inān and rikāb dar rikāb. The following lines also display this form of rhyme in a group of quadrupled elements, related in an a-a-b-a rhyme as

Nasrollāh is wont to do. (Here again Dimna is warning the lion-king about Šanzaba's supposed treachery.)

...çi agar ba-zāt-i h<sup>v</sup>iš mokāvamat na-tavānad, ba-  
madad gārī-yi cam'ī az yārān kār-i h<sup>v</sup>ad-rā pīš barad yā  
ba-zark-o-makr va dastān-o-ğadr nakš-hā bar angīzad.

(Kas 121/16-17)

This represents an expansion of Naşrollāh's text, however:

...ci agar ba-zāt-i h<sup>v</sup>iš mokāvamat na-tavānad kard, yārān  
gīrad va ba-zark-o-makr-o-şa'vada dast ba-kār konad.

(NasM 97/14-15)

Because Kāşifī uses sac' so frequently and so concentratedly, it is difficult to determine whether or not he uses the device to distinguish registers in the way al-Boḥārī does. The passages which generally merit the most elaborate sac' treatment in the Anvār-i Sohaylī are those which describe places (as in the first lines of the tale of the Hare and the Lion or in the segment from the story of Sālīm and Ġānim above), wise and just kings, or holy men. It is probably by coincidence and not design, however, that such passages receive greater attention, since description probably lends itself far more readily to this style than does almost any other kind of passage.

Among the Persian writers discussed in this research, it is clearly Kāşifī who elevates the art of sac' to its highest point, both in terms of the degree to which it is applied and of the imagination and creativity with which it is conceived. Kāşifī had an extremely wide stock of Persian and Arabic words and forms with which to work and thus a nearly limitless amount of raw material was at his command. Abū Fażl, working under royal command



to simplify the Anvār-i Sohaylī, must have felt severely hampered in this respect, for the greatly diminished body of vocabulary available to him would have restricted even the most inventive of prosodists.

The 'Iyār-i Dāniş of Abū Fażl

In company with other rhetorical features found in abundance in the Anvār-i Sohaylī, the application of sac' in the 'Iyār-i Dāniş suffers greatly from Akbar Şāh's penchant for simplicity. It is generally less a matter of Abū Fażl composing rhyming words, phrases etc., than it is a question of how much he chooses to preserve from Kāşifī. There are passages in which Abū Fażl changes only the occasional word and, on the other hand, passages which are greatly shortened or which disappear altogether. The overall impression of the work is that Abū Fażl carried out his patron's command with a great deal of misgiving, for he must have realised that such a delicately-balanced and finely-tuned text as the Anvār-i Sohaylī could only be emasculated by the process of simplification which was demanded of him, and that no work of enduring appeal could possibly result.

The rather prosaic Agar çonīn bāşad ... (Abu 67/8) is Abū Fażl's rendering of Kāşifī's gracefully balanced and rhymed Va agar hāl ba-dīn minvāl bāşad ... (Kas 105/3-4). Another example of the removal of rhymes within a clause is the following:

Va çun bāz āmadī, dīgarān dar nakl-o-tahvīl ta'cīl  
kardandī, va bar yak-dīgar pīş-dastī costandī.

(Kas 106/1-2)



Va ġun bāz āmadī, dīgarān kūşış-ı raftan kardandī, va  
bar yak-dīgar pīş-dastī costandī.

(Abu 68/1)

Whereas Abū Fażl's version is certainly acceptable, when it is compared with Kāşifī's reading it is altogether forgotten. Nasrollāh's 'original' of the first part of the above passage is, by the way, Va dīgarān dar ān tahvīl ta'cīl-o-mosāra' at nomūdand ...

(NasM 84/4-5)

As there is so little original sac', or even reworking of the device, in the 'Iyār-i Dāniş', further discussion of Abū Fażl's sac' style would be pointless.

Kul Mes'ūd's Turkish Kelīle ve Dimne

It has already been noted how Kul Mes'ūd's version of Kelīle ve Dimne is, for the most part, a close translation of Nasrollāh's work, and how its word order tends to follow that of the Persian in preference to 'normal' Turkish word order. Secondly, in Turkish, syntactical relationships between words are indicated to a large extent by terminal agglutination. These two factors, plus Mes'ūd's apparent intention to rhyme, are important in determining the type and amount of sac' in this early Turkish text.

In the following text several kinds of sac' will be apparent:

Dimne eyitdi: Getürmişlerdür kim bir beg var idi Behārbih  
adlu, ve anuñ bir 'avratı vardı yavlak oldu; yüzi ay,  
kaşlari yay, enegi ak, bürcegi gül-bigi miş, görk-ü-cemāl  
içinde bī-nihāyet ve salāh-u-mestürlik içinde ğāyet,  
tuzi çok, luţfi artuk.

(Kul 66/7-10)

This section displays complex rhymes and parallelisms, beginning with an identity between the verbs of the first two parallel clauses and an implied identity with those of the following clauses. Within the clauses, too, there are several rhymes, as between ay and yay, between enegi and bürcegi (and bigi?), and between çok and artuk. In addition to the rhymes the passage contains numerous parallel elements of an ingenious nature.

Clearly the organisation of this translation has been very well thought-out.

The high frequency of -di and idi in Turkish makes rhyming of verbs much easier than it otherwise would be. For example:

Şenzebe eyitdi: Getürmişlerdur kim bir kurt, bir zâğ,  
bir şağāl arslanūñ tapusinde olurlardı, ve bularūñ yeri  
ve odası bir ulu kārṽān yolina yakın idi. Bir bāzīrgānūñ  
bir devesi ol yörede kalmısidı, pes otlak isteyü ol  
bişeye vardıkim arslanūñ duragı andayidi. Çün arslanı  
gördı varub tapu kalmakdan artuk çāre bulmadı.

(Kul 36/26-31)

In a sense, then, there is a far greater amount of sac' in Kul Mes'ūd's work than in Naṣrollāh's, for the latter is rather sparing in his use of end-of-clause rhymes. Where Naṣrollāh does employ this kind of sac', however, Mes'ūd generally tries to follow him by pairing the same clauses and creating, where practicable, similar parallel elements.

Most of Mes'ūd's poetic word rhymes (as opposed to agglutinative termination rhymes) are between Persian or Arabic words, whereas Turkish words - especially verbs - tend to be rhymed according to cadence. (It would be technically incorrect

to label such rhymes among Turkish words as 'syntactical'.)

Examples of this latter type of rhyme would be eyledi and eyitdi, bindürmiş and belürmiş.

If one thinks of Kul Mes'ūd as a pioneer in Turkish letters - which he was - it may be surprising to find so much sac' and such complex organisation in his prose as is in evidence. If, on the other hand, one looks upon him as a Muslim writing in the Islamic tradition a full two centuries after Nasrollāh, it is much easier to understand why, and how, he writes with such an experienced hand. Yet, for Turkish narrative prose he represents but a beginning, for another two centuries were to elapse before 'Alī Çelebi ( who had probably never heard of Kul Mes'ūd) would write the definitive Ottoman version of Kelīle ve Dimne.

'Alī b. Sālīh's Humāyūn-nāma

With regard to sac', the Humāyūn-nāma occupies approximately the same position in Turkish literature that the Anvār-i Sohaylī does in Persian, that is, each is looked upon as being among the works representing the highest achievement in sac' in either language. In neither case is this esteem misplaced, for both works abound in rhymes of a wide variety applied with adroitness and ingenuity.

It was noted earlier that Kāşifī's sac' composition was greatly enhanced by his wide knowledge of two languages. Similarly, 'Alī Çelebi was a master of Arabic and Persian - and well-versed in Turkish into the bargain. Thus the vocabulary he

had at his command was truly vast and the possibilities for rhyme incalculable.

'Alī's skill and versatility are apparent in the following passage (which is the equivalent of the first passage given for Kāşifī earlier, although 'Alī has changed about much of the imagery):

Re'yy-i sa'ib-ü-tedbîr-i dürüstîñ fâ'idesi budur ki çün  
bir döstden eser-i 'adâvet, ve bir hizmetkârdan 'alâmet-i  
hinâyet göreler, hemândem etrâf-i kârların ferâhem kılub  
rû-yı mürâfakat-ü-muvâfakatı andan döndüreler; ve haşm  
anlarıñ nâr-i demârla hânümânların göyündir medîn anlar  
anıñ âb-i bevârla hayâtı ocağın söyündireler; dendân bâ  
vücûd ki âdamıñ kadîmî hamdemi, ve tahsîl-i menâfi'de  
ekser-i a'zânıñ mukaddemi dir, çün ma'lûl ola kal'dan  
gayri-yle devâ kılmazlar; ve ta'âmı ki bedel-i mâ  
yetahallal ve meded-i mādde-yi hayâtıdır, çün mi'dede  
fâsîd ola, def'den gayriyi revâ görmezler.

(Alī 179/21-180/4)

While this passage is obviously based upon that in the Anvâr-i Sohaylî, the only rhyme common to both is that between murâfakat and muwâfakat. Beyond this, and rhyming verbs in similar positions, all sac' relationships are 'Alī's alone and are resourcefully composed. In contrast to Kul Mes'ûd, relatively few rhymes are based upon agglutinative elements in verbs, while those which are so founded are based upon a more complex rhyme than the simple -di or idi element. Towards the end of the passage there is a further play on words (though it is not sac' in the strictest sense) between meded-i and mi'dede, which offers amusement to

the reader.

In almost every line of the Hümāyūn-nāma one finds that 'Alī has extended Kāşifī's imagery and increased the number and sorts of sac' relationships. Compare, for example, the following passage with the corresponding section of the Anvār-i Sohaylī transcribed a few pages above:

Rēvāyet iderler ki iki refīk, ki birine Sālim derlerdi  
ve birisine Ġānim, bir tarīka giderlerdi ve muṣāfaḳat-ü-  
mürāfaḳatle merāhil-ü-menāzil kat' iderlerdi. Nāḡah  
esnā-yi rāhda bir kūha erdiler ki kulleri ḡing-i āsmānla  
'inān der 'inān, ve kemeri tevsen-i sehābla rikāb ender  
rikāb idi; ol kūh dāmeninde bir çeşme gördiler ki şafāda  
reşk-i ruhsāre-yi tāze-rūyān, ve ḡalāvetde ḡayret-i  
şeker-ḡuftār-u-şīrīn-lebān idi. Çeşme oñunda bir ḡavz-i  
'azīm düzelmiş, ve girdāgirdinde serteser serv-ü-şanavber  
ve şīnār-u-'ar'ar dizelmış; etrāfi elvān-i ezḡarla  
mülevven, ve eknāfi envā'-i eşḡarla müzeyyen.

(Alī 119/4-12)

While the above text obviously owes much to Kāşifī, it also firmly establishes 'Alī Çelebi in his own right as an author of great stature. Here he achieves much more than a mere translation of Kāşifī's text, for he alters syntactical relationships in virtually every line and creates striking new rhymes where none exists in the Persian; he finds rhymes for 'inān and rikāb and partners for mürāfaḳat and ḡalāvet, totally restructures two clauses by the addition of reşk and ḡayret, furnishes rhyming species of tree for Kāşifī's final clause, and lastly crowns the whole with a brilliant pair of clauses in which parallel elements

are totally in rhyme and in which six of the eight words are of the af'āl form - and are excellently alliterative.

As the above two passages amply testify, sac' is of the utmost importance in the Hümāyūn-nāma for determining the rhythm, which in turn indicates where pauses and stresses ought to be placed, and which ultimately acts to parse the sentence. Thus sac' serves as much more than mere ornamentation in such literature; it is, in effect, the skeleton about which the entire sentence is constructed. There can be little doubt but that 'Alī is a master of the art of sac'.

The final quotation in this section is again parallel to one which has already been given in the discussion of Kāşifī's sac' and concerns the use of the a-a-b-a rhyme scheme with four parallel words. 'Alī here alters this relationship slightly and ends with imagery totally different from Kāşifī's:

... eger kendü bi-nefsihi mukābeleden 'āciz ise,  
mu'āvinler muzāhereti-yle çok nesneye kâdir dır, ve sihr-  
u-mekr ve destān-u-ğadrda sâni-yi Sām ve Sāmīrī-yi  
sāhir dir.

(Alī 179/7-8)

In the above foursome the rhyme scheme is a-b-c-b, even though sihr is very close to being in syntactical rhyme with mekr and ğadr. By including sihr in this list, 'Alī is allowing Dimna to include possibilities of a far more sinister nature to the king. 'Alī adds near-rhyme to the first two clauses by using three words which are closely-related Arabic forms, namely mukabele, mu'āvin and muzāheret.

A perusal of any passage of the Hümāyūn-nāma would provide

an abundance of examples showing not only 'Alī's extreme proficiency in the art of sac', but also his extreme reliance upon it, for without the device works like the Anvār-i Sohaylī and the Hümāyūn-nāma could never have been contemplated - and probably would not have been worth contemplating anyway. After 'Alī's time, the art of sac' in Ottoman letters enters a long period of gradual decline from which it never recovers.

'Osmānzāda Tā'ib and Ahmed Midhat

The Semār ül-Esmār of 'Osmānzāda Tā'ib is, like the Persian 'Iyār-i Dāniş, an abridgement of its illustrious predecessor, neither containing much that its original lacked, but lacking very much contained in the original. As the apparent aim of 'Osmānzāda is to dispose of the tales in as rapid and precise a manner as possible, 'frills' like sac' and parallelism are largely sacrificed.

Ahmed Midhat writes his Hulāsa-yı Hümāyūn-nāma in a late-nineteenth-century style of Turkish which is designed to appeal to a wide readership interested in Western European literary models. In such a work the inclusion of sac' is virtually unthinkable.

B. SIMILE/METAPHOR

Simile is one of the most common features in rhetoric, being based upon the comparison of qualities between the subject of the



statement and a referent which exhibits these properties to a marked degree. The intention of this device is to transfer the characteristics of one object or circumstance to another, so that the reader or listener comes to think of the subject and referent as one. 'Ilm al-bayān in its technical definition of simile (tasbīh) reads:

Tasbīh is an expression of correspondence between the properties [of two things or concepts] in rhetoric. (1)

Further, the three elements necessary in tasbīh are the tarafān (subject and referent), the wach (common factor or quality) and the adāt (particle of comparison). (2) In this the use of the particle of comparison is virtually the only factor differentiating it from the metaphor (isti'āra), the definition of which is included in the following statement:

Macāz (a trope) may be mufarad (simple) or murakkab (complex), mufarad being the correct employment of a word in some sense other than its original one in discourse, but with some indication that it is not the basic meaning which is intended; ... [isti'āra] is [the same but] with some association of similarity [between the subject and referent] . (3)

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- (1) Talḥīs, p.238. التَّشْبِيهُ الدَّلَالَةُ عَلَى مُشَارَكَةِ أَمْرٍ لِأَمْرٍ فِي مَعْنَى .
- (2) Talḥīs, p.243. وَالْمَجَازُ مُفْرَدٌ وَمُرَكَّبٌ أَمَّا الْمُفْرَدُ فَهُوَ الْكَلِمَةُ الْمُسْتَعْمَلَةُ فِي غَيْرِ مَا وَضِعَتْ لَهُ فِي أَصْطِلَاحِ التَّخَاطُبِ عَلَى وَجْهِ يَصِحُّ مَعَ قَرِينَةٍ عَدَمِ إِرَادَتِهِ . . . [فَأَسْتَعَارَةً] لِعِلَاقَةِ الْمُشَابَهَةِ .



Some modern writers on stylistics in the West have opined that while the simile merely 'adds' the elements of description together, metaphor 'multiplies ... and fuses' them;<sup>(1)</sup> while this view is very much a simplification, it contains a large amount of truth.

The single remaining section of bayān, not so frequently found in prose literature, is kināya (allusion or metonymy) which is thus described:

Kināya is an expression which has an intended secondary meaning, although its basic meaning may also be true.<sup>(2)</sup>

Allusion differs little from metaphor, except that the correspondence between the description and the described is made by the reader rather than the author. For this reason, allusion can only be effective when the reader and writer share the same general cultural experience.

All such figures of speech can be regarded as variations of the principle of comparison noted above for, indeed, when one seeks to explain metaphor or allusion he is inevitably obliged to reduce it to the terms of the basic simile. The banality in Middle Eastern literature of a statement such as 'He was (like) a lion in battle' would be relieved somewhat if changed to read 'He was (like) a swirling whirlwind' or 'He was (like) a river in spate.' Still, such forms of simile/metaphor are common, and

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(1) Turner. P.131.

(2) Talhīs, P.337. الْكِتَابَةُ لَفْظٌ أُرِيدَ بِهِ لَا زَمٌّ مَعْنَاهُ مَعَ جَوَازِ إِرَادَتِهِ مَعَهُ.

can achieve distinction only by the way modifications are introduced into them. Thus, 'The swirling whirlwind which carries away the courage of the opponent and the flood which sweeps away the reputedly invincible foe' is far more successful in conjuring up images and creating atmosphere than are the unelaborated metaphors.

Each age and society shapes its rhetorical style according to its own tastes and unique experience, so that the quantity and nature of the metaphors it calls into service can provide much information about that society and its view of itself. As Middle Eastern writers usually look to nature for their imagery, often seeking its most awesome extremes, and frequently concern themselves with near-superhuman conquests over powerful enemies, the imagery underlying the above examples when expanded displays some of the most characteristic features of Islamic prose style.

In any language there are metaphors which are so expressive and useful that they have taken root in the active vocabulary of much of the population. After an extended period of wide use such a figure can be considered 'dead' because it is employed so commonly that those who come in contact with it no longer consider, however fleetingly, the images it represents. (Nowadays the colloquial 'he blew his stack', which means 'he became suddenly and violently angry', is practically a dead metaphor since it is only rarely that a user of the expression considers exploding boilers.)

Terence Hawkes prefers to label live metaphors as 'deviant', in that as long as a figure of speech is seen as 'deviating' from 'normal' language it maintains a descriptive energy.<sup>(1)</sup>

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(1) Hawkes. Pp. 73-4.

Hawkes agrees, however, that it is very difficult to define or quantify standard speech. J.R. Firth suggests that 'colocation', the frequent occurrence of certain words in proximity to others, can be a guide to the normality of an expression.<sup>(1)</sup> In Britain, for example, 'boot' often 'colocates' very near 'Wellington', and in Persian literature angost is frequently to be found in the vicinity of ta'accob. This system of determining the freshness of a metaphor is not entirely accurate, for there are other factors - such as vividness of imagery, assonance, rhyme, etc. - which affect the active life of a trope.

In any language, too, there is a large grey area in which metaphorical idioms, long ago normalized, still bring images to mind. For example, in Persian the following idioms are common: rāh yāftan; ba-bād dādan; zabān bar-gosādan; ba-çang āvardan; ba-cāy āvardan; çaşm dāştan; dast darāz kardan etc. While these are all no doubt metaphorical in origin, Persian writing abounds with these and similar expressions which are probably not considered tropes by their users. Such figures are easily resuscitated through the addition of elements, such as naḥçīr-i hikmat ba-çang-i dāniş āvardan, and can still be used to good effect.

Among the Persian texts examined, the translation by al-Boḥārī clearly displays the most limited, and therefore the least effective, use of simile/metaphor within the main body of the work, although his introductory dedication does, as one might expect, boast a far higher and more imaginative concentration

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(1) Firth. Pp.194ff.

of such figures. This stands in striking contrast to the contemporary Nasrollāh who makes extensive use of simile and metaphor throughout his text. In addition, it is remarkable to observe that not once in the Zangid translation does al-Boḥārī describe tangibles (people, places, things) in terms of figures of speech, but instead invokes tropes only to portray abstracts and, in the introduction, allegorical views of the universe.

The greatest proportion of al-Boḥārī's tropes are built upon the assigning of abstract qualities to everyday objects or occurrences:

...va ba-libās-i ḥirmān tan-i ū-rā ba-pūṣānad...va bar  
bisat-i navaḥt-aṣ ba-niṣānad.

(Zan 48a/5-6)

and:

Ātiṣ-i ḥasad dar dil-i ū ba-cūṣīd, va āftāb-i rāḥat-i ū  
ba-abr-i ḡam pūṣīda gaṣt, va rūz-i rūṣan bar dīda-yi ū  
tārīk ṣod.

(Zan 27a/16-17)

and:

...ba-ravam...ba-ḥidmat bay-āvaram tā kamar-i bandagī  
bar miyān bandad va dast az āstīn-i ḡakarī bīrūn ārad ...

(Zan 26b/13-14)

Other metaphors involve giving new properties to parts of the body, as:

Va tā har-k īn dastān ba-ḥ<sup>v</sup>ānad va ba-dānad, gūṣ ba-har  
kasī na-dārad va soḥan-i bad-gūyān-rā az gūṣ-i sar  
ba-gūṣ-i dil na-gozārad...

(Zan 48a/14-15)

and:

...va az ama-yi dil-i ū āb-i alāh zāyad.

(Zan 48b/19)

and inevitably:

Angošt-i ta'accob ba-dandān-i tahayyor ba-girift.

(Zan 11a/5)

Hands feature prominently, too:

...va har afā'i kī nammām dast dar vay āvarad, tīra  
gardad.

(Zan 20b/14)

and:

...tā dast-i kūši az āstīn-i honar ba-dar ārad.

(Zan 24a/17-18)

Sometimes abstract nouns are given material qualities,

as:

Na-bāyad kī makr-i tū torā zīr-i pā-yi h<sup>v</sup> ad ba-kūbad.

(Zan 46a/15)

and:

...va ma'lūm-i ū ašt kī sohan kargār āmad va tohm-i  
kāšta ba-bar āmad.

(Zan 36a/4)

Despite the obvious appeal of many of these metaphors, had al-Boḥārī made more extensive use of such devices, applied them to concrete subjects as well, and combined more imaginative tropes with his already (at times) refreshingly simple style, his work would probably have enjoyed more recognition and a greater readership. On the other hand, it is in the initial pages of his dībāa that al-Boḥārī marshals his greatest efforts, for it is

only here that he displays real ingenuity and inspiration or extends any of the imagery beyond a single phrase or clause.

Thus we find:

Sipās-o-ḥamd-o-ṣanā ān pādšāh-rā kī pargār-i kodrat gird-i  
nokṭa-yi irādāt gardān kard.

(Zan 1b/2)

...va har ki dar-īn daryā kaštī-yi fikrat-rā piš rānad,  
az carā'id-i ḥayrat coṣ kašā'id-i ḥasrat na-ḥ<sup>v</sup>ānad.

(Zan 1b/5)

...tīr-i tadkīk-i modakkikān az nišāna-yi olūhiyat-i ū  
ba-dast-i kods bāz-dāṣṭa.

(Zan1b/7)

...va sīna-yi movahhidān dar ḥocra-yi tauhīd-i ū bar  
farṣ-i yakīn āramīda.

(Zan1b/9-10)

An example of an extended, and consequently far more effective, metaphor is the following, also from the dībāça:

...va aflāk-i daurānī-rā az 'adam dar vocūd āvard va  
ayvān-i ḥocra-yi ḥāṣṣ-i mokaribān kard, kī ba-'ibārat-i  
'arṣ yād karda ṣod va andar īn ayvān-i nīk-gūn-i davāzda-  
borc bar-afrāṣṭ va haft sipāh-sālār-i bozorg-rā  
ba-hirāsat-i īn ayvān firū dāṣṭ va ṣad hazār az darārī-  
vo-kavākib ba-farman-barī-vo-ṣākārī-yi īṣān bar gomāṣṭ,  
va ṣahār ṭabā'i'-rā bar vach-i nakībī ba-pāy kard, har  
yakī kamandī dar dast girifta va dīda nihāda tā ḥ<sup>v</sup>ad  
sipāh-sālārān ḡi farmāyand.

(Zan1b/12-17)

The rather elaborate imagery of this greatly-extended metaphor

continues until appeals are made to individual heavenly bodies,  
as:

Ay Zahl, dast-i idbār dar dāman-i folān bī-ḡāra zan; ...yā  
Moṣṭarī, kolāh-i ikbāl bar sar-i folān sahib nih; ay  
Mirriḥ, tiḡ-i kahr bar gardan-i folān bār-i Hoḡāy-i gardan  
afrāz bay-āzmā'i; ay 'Oṭārid, dar-i fiṭnat-o-dirāyat-o-  
'amal-o-kifāyat bar ḡaṭir-i folān ba-goṣā'i...

(Zan2a/2-4)

This resourceful personification of celestial figures results in  
a highly entertaining passage which enlivens both the astro-  
logical symbols invoked and the text itself.

Later in the preface we find a series of similes in which  
al-Boḡarī recalls the accepted qualities of certain legendary  
and historical figures (including Camṣīd, Afrāsiyāb, Rostam,  
Nūṣīrvān, Sahbān, etc.) in this manner:

Pas ḡun Ḥakk - 'azza va-'alā - īn ādamī-rā ba-īn ṣifāt-i  
kamāl va ba-ḡisāl-i camāl ba-dīdār āvard va kolāh-i  
ma'rifat-o-aṣnāy bar sar-i vay nihād, va har ḡāhī ṣaḡṣī-  
rā dar holla cilva gardānad, ḡonān-k Camṣīd-rā ba-cahān-  
bānī maḡṣūs kard, ki dar ṣabāt-i mamālik-o-kamāl-i daulat-  
o-camāl-i moṣṡahadat ba-vay maṣal zanand; va Afrāsiyāb-rā  
ba-ra'y-o-tadbīr-o-kār-ḡināsī markūm kard tā aḡvāl-i ū  
nīz dar-īn bāb maṣal ḡaṣt...

(Zan 3b/7-10)

(It is interesting that Afrāsiyāb should appear in this list, for  
he is not a hero of the Iranians, but rather of the 'Turanians'.)

A few pages later these same names and their attendant  
virtues appear in the text, but in this instance the qualities are

applied to Ibn Zangī, under whose patronage al-Boḥārī was writing. This use of simile and allusion comes quite unexpectedly and creates a vivid picture of an idealized Ibn Zangī:

...kī marg-i Malik-i Camšīdī, va ra'y-i Afrāsiyābī, va  
šocā'at-i Rostamī, va 'adl-i Nušīrvānī, va faṣāḥat-i  
Sahbānī, va hilm-i Ahnafī, va saḥāvat-i Hātimī...

(Zan 4b/14-15)

Far more imaginative and ingenious are the similes and metaphors of Naṣrollāh, most of which passed into later revisions and translations to enliven the Persian versions of Kāšifī and Abū Faḏl, the Turkish versions of Kul Mes'ūd, 'Alī Çelebi and, in many instances, 'Osmānzāda Tā'ib; it is because of this survival of Naṣrollāh's tropes that the remaining works will be dealt with together.

The most common pattern for the development of metaphors in these texts is that where Naṣrollāh introduces a fairly simple figure into his version. Kāšifī accepts this, but elaborates it with one or more parallel figures, often woven into an intricate sac' pattern. Abū Faḏl, in simplifying the Anvār-i Sohaylī, removes many non-essential elements, thereby reducing the number of metaphors and at the same time drastically altering or abandoning the sac' relationship. Kul Mes'ūd usually translates the trope directly into Turkish and only occasionally adds reinforcing material, whereas 'Alī most frequently revises and greatly supplements Kāšifī's text, elevating the work to its most elaborate and ingenious levels. From then on, these figures decline, as 'Osmānzāda normally deletes much of 'Alī's text, forfeiting most of the metaphors, and Ahmed Midhat rarely accepts



any of 'Alī's tropes, preferring to write his own for the rare occasions they are employed.

This sequence of development may be observed by tracing the progress of this image in the lines immediately preceding the tale of the Hare and the Lion:

Çi kamīn-i ġadr ki az ma'man goşāyand cāy-gīr-tar oftād,  
çonān-ki ħargūş ba-ĥilat şīr-rā halāk kard.

(NasM 86/4-5)

Anuñ içün kim şol aldamaqlık bususını eminlik yerinden  
açacak, yavlaq yer eyleyici ve assılu düşüci olur.  
Söylekim ol tavşan bir arslanı ĥile-vü-destān birle helāk  
eyledi.

(Kul 22/34-23/3)

Va çūn sahm-i ġadrī az kamīn-i dūstī goşāyand, cāy-  
gīr-tar āyad. Magar na-şanīda'ī ki ġadr-i ān ħargūş ki  
dar şīr ba-çi nau' mo'assir āmad, va çūn az makt-r-i  
ū ġāfil būd ba-vocūd-i ĥirad-o-kiyāsat dar varta-yi  
halākat oftād?

(Kas 110/15-18)

Va tīr-i (makrī) ki az kamān-i dūstī goşāyand cāy-gīr  
āyad. Na-şanīda'ī ki ħargūş ba-rāh-i dūstī āmada şīr-rā  
çigūna farīb dād va bā-vocūd-i ĥ<sup>v</sup>ord dar tadbīr-i halākat-i  
şīr oftād?

(Abu 70/14-15)

Zīrā her tīr-i ġadr ki kemān-i ġaflet ve kemīn-i  
sadākatdan ġūşād bula ziyāde cāy-gīr olur. Işitmedūñmi  
ol ħargūşun tīr-i mekr-ü-tezvīri helāk-i ġırde nice te'şīr  
İtmışdür; çūn anuñ mekrinden ġāfil idi bā vūcūd ki ehl-i

ferāset ve şāhīb-i kiyāset idi, mağāk-i helāke düşdi.

(Ali 164/18-21)

Pend-i her tīr-i ġadir ki kemān-i ġaflet ve kemīn-i  
şadākatdan ġüşād bulsa, ziyāde cāy-ġir olur.

(Osm 107/4-5)

In this passage the concise and descriptive metaphor of Nasrollāh's text passes into five other versions and is a source of inspiration to their authors. Kul Mes'ūd, though dropping the word 'arrow' from his translation, accepts Nasrollāh's metaphor, expands slightly upon it and creates parallel verb phrases based upon the -ici suffix.

Kāşifī amplifies this trope, for by changing ma'man ('a place of security') to kamīn ('an ambush') and assigning to it the abstract epithet dūstī, he immediately makes the image more complex and expressive. Later in the passage he creates another metaphor, varta-yi halākat (which rhymes pleasingly with the preceding phrase hirad-o-kiyāsat).

Abū Fażl accepts much of Kāşifī's reworking of the text but makes many modifications, changing ġadri to makri and kamīn to kamān (the more usual companion of tīr), then creates his own metaphor, ba-rāh-i dūstī, and in the end dismantles Kāşifī's final trope.

'Alī Çelebi develops this passage to its maximum. Metaphors proliferate now, with tīr nudging out Kāşifī's sahm and two rhyming figures, kemān-i ġaflet and kamīn-i şadākat replacing the single one, kamīn-i dūstī; furthermore, 'Alī repeats the arrow metaphor to good effect in the next line (where Kāşifī uses no tropes) and sets up a staccato rhythm through a series of rhymes

in tīr, tezvīr, sīr and te'sīr, all of which rhyme with cāy-gīr in the previous line. After altering the position of the Anvār-i Sohaylī's -āsat rhymes (to ahl-i ferāset and ṣāhib-i kiyāset), the Hümāyūn-nāma exchanges varta-ti halākat for the rhyming, and equally evocative, maḡāk-i helāk.

An example of the development of a place description is the following from the tale of the Crab and the Crane:

Lākin dar īn nazdīkī ābgīrī mī-dānam, ki āb-aṣ ba-ṣafā  
parda-dar-tar az gīrya-yi 'āṣik ast, va ḡammāz-tar az  
sobḥ-i ṣādik; dāna-yi rīg dar ka'r-i ān ba-tavān ṣomārad,  
va bayza-yi māhī az firāz-i ān ba-tavān dīd.

Izā 'alat-ha 's-ṣabā abdat la-hā hubukan  
Mitla 'l-cawāsini maškulan ḥawāsī-hā,  
Ia yabluḡu 's-samaku 'l-maḥsūru ḡayata-hā  
Li-bu'di mā bayna kāsī-hā wa-dānī-hā.

(NasM 83/12-16)

...ki dar īn nazdīkī ābgīrī mī-dānam ki āb-aṣ ba-ṣafā bā  
sobḥ-i ṣādik dam-i barābarī mī-zanad, va dar nomūdan-i  
'aks-i sovar bar ā'īna-yi gītī-nomāy sabakat mī-gīrad;  
dāna-yi rīg dar ka'r-i ān tavān ṣomārad, va bayza-yi  
māhī dar cauf-i ān tavān dīd; va bā īn-hama na ḡauvās-i  
fahm ba-ka'r-aṣ tavānad rasīd, va na sabbāḥ-i vahm  
sāhil-i ān-rā tavānad dīd; va dar dīda-yi dām hīç  
ṣayyādī bar ān ābgīr nay-oftāda-ast, va māhī-yi ḡadīr  
coz zincīr-i āb kaydī na-dīda.

Ābgīrī ba-sān-i daryā'īst  
Līk daryā'yi bī-sar-o-pā'īst

(Kas 105/14-20)

... ki dar īn nazdikī ābgīrī-st dil-kaş, ki cānivarān-rā  
dar āncā ba-doşvārī gozar oftad, ādamī-zād kay tavānad  
rasīd?

(Abu 67/17-18)

The Turkish versions render this:

Velīkin oşbu yakında bir göl bilürven, kim anuñ durluğū  
'aşık gözinden durırakdur, ve şāfiliği subhī şādıkdan  
rūsenırakdur; şöylekim anuñ dibinde dāneleri saymağa  
yarar, ve balık yumurdasını görmege yarar.

(Kul 20/35-21/2)

...ki bu nevāhīde bir ġadīr-i kebīr ve bir ābgīr-i  
āyīne-nazīr vardır, ki ġāyet-i şafāda çeşme-yi hūrşīdden  
ziyāde, ve nihāyet-i safvetde cām-i Cemşīdden ġuşādedir;  
kemāl-i şafāsından ka'rinda dāne-yi rīg 'add olunur, ve  
beyza-yı māhī cevfinde bir-bir görünür; ve bu cümle ile ne  
ġavvās-i vehm ka'rına yetişmek müyesser, ve ne sebbāh-ı  
fehmi sāhiline erişmek mutasavverdir; hiç bir şayyādın  
dest-i sesti ol ābgīre ermemişdir, ve ol ġadīrīn māhīleri  
zencīr-i ābdan ġayri kayd-ü-bend görmemişdür.

Ābgīrī be-sān-i deryā'īst

Ne ki deryā bī-ser-ü-pāy'īst.

(Ali 157/18-25)

In this selection Nasrollāh employs Arabic verse to recount  
the wonders of the imaginary lake, a device to which he frequently  
has recourse but which is, for the most part, ignored by his  
successors. On a very few occasions Kul Mes'ūd carries over  
some of Nasrollāh's Arabic verses into his own version and at  
times expands upon an idea contained in the Arabic, but none of

the other authors appears to pay any attention to the poetry. This is most likely a result of the changes which had taken place in education over the centuries, for by Kāşifî's age the number of Persians who would be in a position to appreciate the Arabic must have been fairly low. It is true that Kāşifî includes occasional lines of Arabic, but in virtually all cases these are short and of a nature which most readers would recognize, i.e. quotations from the Kur'ān or hadīth and proverbial sayings.

The same pattern of development that we noticed in the previous section applies here as well, for again we see Kul Mes'ūd putting Nasrollāh's metaphors into Turkish, and again we find Kāşifî considerably extending the number and degree of the tropes. In addition, Kāşifî personalizes the two abstract nouns fahm and vahm, making the former a diver and the latter a swimmer neither of whom can reach the extremities of the body of water, and creates some very good rhymes, rhythms and parallel structures. 'Alī, as we would expect, works upon the Anvār-i Sohaylī and carries the elaboration of this passage even further, although in this instance he largely discards Kāşifî's opening lines in favour of totally new ones.

Abū Fażl simplifies the text considerably here, dropping every metaphor and using only the most familiar vocabulary. 'Osmānzāda does not include this tale in his version and Ahmed Midhat merely states: 'Surada büyük bir nehir vardır.'

For comparison, the Arabic version reads thus:

...ilā ġadīrin karībin min hunā, fī-hi samākun wa-miyāhun  
katīrun wa-kaşabun.

And the Zangid Persian version:

...ki bar sar-i īn kūh cā'ī mī-dānam hūš-o-pākīza, va  
āb-hā-yi ravān, va giyā-vo-sabza-vo-marġzār-i bī-andāza,  
az rāh dūr va az gozār-i ādamiyān bar-kanāra.

(Zan 31a/1)

Although al-Boḥārī's translation contains much more description than the Arabic, none of this is even vaguely metaphorical or extra-dimensional. Only Naṣrollāh, Kāṣifī, Kul Mes'ūd and 'Alī have chosen to employ tropes.

There are numerous instances when Kāṣifī uses a metaphorical expression where Naṣrollāh and Kul Mes'ūd use none, as in this introduction of the snake in the tale of the Snake and the Crow:

Va dar ān havāli sūrāḥ-i mārī būd.

(NaṣM 81/10)

Ve anuñ yöresinde bir zift yılan yerlenmiş idi.

(Kul 19/23-24)

Here Naṣrollāh merely states that there was a snake living nearby, while Mes'ūd decides that it ought to be a black snake (zift yılan) and in so doing brings the sense closer to the Arabic aswad, though it is doubtful that he had an Arabic text to work with. In neither version above do we find any use of metaphor.

Va dar havālī-yi ān sūrāḥ, mārī būd ki āb-i dahān-aş  
zahr-i halāk-o-mamāt būdī, va lo'āb-i bon-i dandān-aş  
mobtil-i mizāc-i bakā-vo-hayāt.

(Kas 103/21-22)

In this sequence Kāṣifī is the first to use tropes in introducing the snake, and he organizes them according to a

moraccaz pattern. Abū Fażl does not accept Kāşifī's lead in this matter, but instead reverts to a description very close to Naşrollāh's:

Va nazdīkī-yi ān sūrāh, mārī būd.

(Abu 66/12)

'Alī Çelebi's version is in contrast to that of Abū Fażl, however:

Ve ol sūrāh civārında bir mār-i ejder-kirdār, ki āb-i dehāni zehr-i helāk-u-memāt, ve lu'āb-i bün-i dendāni muḡḡil-i mizāc-i bekā-vu-hayāt idi, tavattun itmişdi.

(Ali 155/9)

It has been noted that Kāşifī interspersed numerous new tales in the text of Naşrollāh. In such stories, where he had no basic framework supplied by his predecessor and so was free to create his own, Kāşifī in general makes even greater use of metaphor and personification of abstracts than he does in the rest of the text. The tale of the Hare, the Wolf and the Fox (which does not occur in Ibn Mukaffa' or Naşrollāh) provides an example. Here the hare is introduced sleeping:

...va h<sup>v</sup>āb-i ḡaflat hama atrāf-i ū-rā firū girifta.

(Kas 107/22)

Abū Fażl accepts the metaphor and slightly reorganizes the grammatical structure of the clause:

...va h<sup>v</sup>āb-i ḡaflat az har taraf ū-rā girifta būd.

(Abu 69/6)

'Alī, however, enriches the trope:

...ve ḡayl-i h<sup>v</sup>āb cemī'-yi [cevānibin] ihāta itmiş.

(Ali 160/23)

The same hare later describes to the wolf how succulent the fox is:

...çonān pindāram ki gūšt-aş az tarī-vo-tāzagī maşāba-yi  
āb-i hayāt-ast, va hūn-aş az şīrīnī-vo-tāzagī momāsil-i  
şarbat-i nabāt.

(Kas 108/7-9)

There is a play on the term maşāba here, because it can mean 'manner, likeness' (as does momāsil), but can also mean 'an urn' or 'the middle of a well'.

These metaphors are omitted by Abū Fażl, but are taken into the Hümāyūn-nāma, though with some alterations:

...gūmānūm bu dur ki anuñ lahmī letāfetde mu'adil-i āb-i  
hayāt dur, ve şahmī halāvetde mumāsil-i şerbet-i nebāt dur.

(Ali 161/11-12)

The narrator of the tale (Kalīla) describes the fox in quite another way, however:

...ki dar firībandagī Şaytān-rā dars va ba-nayrang-sāzī-  
vo-naķş-bāzī vahm-o-ḥayāl-rā sabak dādī.

(Kas 108/12-13)

This is expanded slightly by 'Alī, but ignored by Abū Fażl:

...ki fenn-i mekr-ü-telbīsde İblīse müderris idi, ve  
nīreng-ü-tahayyül-ü-tezvīr-ü-tesvīlde vehm-ü-ḥayāla  
sebak virdi.

(Ali 171/18-19)

Later the wolf forces the hare to pay the fox a visit in order to convince him that a holy man (in fact the wolf) is desirous of meeting him:

Hargūş goft: Az moddat-i dīr-bāz dar ārzū-yi şaraf-i



molākāt mī-bāšam, va ba-vāsita-yi mavāni'-yi rūzgār-i  
ḡaddār va havādiš-i zamāna-yi bī-vafā-yi nā-pāydar  
az ān sa'adat mahrum mī-mānam. ...banda-yi ḡakīr-rā  
vasīla sāhta tā dīda-yi dil ba-camāl-i caḡān-ārāy  
monauvar va mašāmm-i cān ba-ravā'ih-i anfās-i mošk-sāy  
mo'attar sāzad.

(Kas 108/23-109/5)

The florid and prolix similes of these lines are extreme examples of the sort of language used in the ta'arof (formulaic politeness) of present-day Iran and, because such language might well be used in similar circumstances by educated people of Kaṣifī's time, emphasize the relationship of the hare to the fox and the trick that is being attempted. The fox, however, is apparently not convinced.

Rūbāh az saḡha-yi īn kalām naḡṣ-i ḡīla firū ḡ<sup>v</sup>and va  
dar mar'at-i īn kalamāt sūrat-i makrī mo'āyana dīd.  
Bā ḡ<sup>v</sup>ad goft: Saḡāḡ dar ān-ast ki bā īṣān ham ba-ṡaur-i  
īṣān solūk konam va ham az ṡarbat-i īṣān dar ḡalk-i  
īṣān rīzam.

(Kas 109/8-10)

In this tale, therefore, Kaṣifī has many times availed himself of the devices of simile and metaphor, thus providing the story with a whole new level upon which it may be enjoyed and appreciated. It is interesting that in stories which Kaṣifī has introduced into the work already imbued with many tropes, 'Alī does not deem it necessary to supplement the imagery of the tale in his usual manner and is largely content with putting the imagery of the Anvār-i Soḡaylī into Turkish. (It is for this

reason that the Hümāyūn-nāma has not been quoted in the most recent passages.) Occasionally, however, he does insert pieces of original Persian or Turkish verse containing new tropes.

Abū Faḡl normally deletes the tropes of Kāṣifī or greatly abridges them, and only rarely does he introduce new ones. Thus the pattern of rhetorical features reaching their Persian zenith in the Anvār-i Sohaylī is preserved.

In much the same way, the Hümāyūn-nāma again represents the summit among the Turkish versions of Kalīla wa-Dimna, for 'Alī's successors do not even begin to approach him. 'Osmānzāda is content to copy only a few tropes from 'Alī and to develop only a very few of his own; and Aḥmed Midḥat writes a version that is essentially devoid of such features and so is far removed from its original.

### C. REPETITION

To Western taste, one of the most objectionable features of Middle Eastern prose is the constant repetition and reiteration which seems to add nothing to the meaning or the effect. For example, Ān toccār-i bozorgvār-o-h<sup>v</sup>āca-yi nāmdār could easily dispense with the second element with no loss in precision of meaning; what would be lost, however, is the balanced phrase, and this must be regarded as having an importance to the author in his construction of the statement.

It may be said that one of the principal impediments to the appreciation by foreigners of this prose style is the attitude

that there must be one-for-one translation according to the system by which they originally learned the languages. Through servile attention to the words rather than the ideas, translators of the Anvār-i Sohaylī like Eastwick and Wollaston contribute a false impression of the original.

Without actually having read parallel sections of the texts of Kalīla wa-Dimna under consideration, one might expect the trend in such repetition of elements to follow that of the application of other rhetorical elements already discussed, whereby al-Boḥārī would display hardly any reduplication, Naṣrollāh and Kul Mes'ūd would have more, Kāṣifī and 'Alī would make more use of it than anyone else, and finally the device would enter a long decline. The resolution of the matter is not nearly so simple, however, for there are numerous factors to be considered.

Repetition, especially of adjectives, has long been a stylistic feature used by oral story-tellers, probably for these reasons: (a) the device delineates characters quickly and effectively; (b) it offers reinforcement and reiteration, which is of importance when conditions are noisy or unsettled and so ability to hear or concentrate is impaired; (c) while proceeding with the actual narrative, a narrator can usually be thinking of synonyms with a minimum of effort; (d) an adjective pair coupled with a noun serves as an excellent mnemonic device; (e) repetition is a word-lengthener which allows the story-teller more 'verbal space' in which to work with intonation, gestures and facial expression (thus 'the big bad wolf' offers the speaker a far better opportunity for 'extra-verbal' expression

than does the shorter 'the wolf' or 'the bad wolf'); (f) finally, the device allows for alliteration, rhyme and the like - as in 'the wily wicked wizard'.

Such oral techniques inevitably influenced early written narrative style in the Middle East and are evident in Islamic prose from the earliest times. The style of implementation of repetition has not remained static, however, as a study of these texts reveals.

It has been noted that al-Boḥārī's version of Kalīla wa-Dimna often seems only a few steps removed from the colloquial oral style of narrative. Further support for this view comes from a study of his use of repetition, particularly of adjectives, for it seems quite likely that he conceived of his work as being principally one to be read aloud in gatherings rather than to oneself alone by a window.

An example of al-Boḥārī's use of this device is the following excerpt from the beginning of the chapter of the Investigation into Dimna's Conduct, where King Dābiṣlīm begins questioning Bīdpāy in words packed with repeated elements:

Mā-rā az lafz-o-goftār-i tū īn fā'ida-vo-hāsil gašt kī  
ba-dānistīm kī bisyār dūstī-yi pāydār-o-mo'addab karār  
girifta, az bad-gūy-i dū-rūy-vo-dū-zabān ba-ziyān āmada-  
ast, va har-k gūš-i soḥan-i makkār-o-mohtāl dārad, ū-rā  
hīç dūst na-bovad.

(Zan 48b/2-5)

Although the above passage is exceptional in its concentration of doubled elements, it is nonetheless representative of the manner in which al-Boḥārī employs this device.

Another passage in which doubled words occur in al-Boḥārī is the following, where Kalīla is berating Dimna for having allowed circumstances to lead to the death of Šanzaba:

Aknūn, ay Dimna, īn maṣal-i tū ast, kī na az adab-i  
h<sup>v</sup>ad-at sūd hastva na pand-at sūd mī-dārad. Va bā īn  
hama dū āfat-i dīgar ast: yakī sar-andarūnī va dovvom  
nā-zīrakī. Va az-īn har dū ḥallat-i bad-o-ḥaslat-i  
nā-hamvār ba-dān dū mardomī yakī sāda-vo-ablah būd va  
yakī tarrār-o-sar-andarūn.

(Zan 45b/1-3)

Since little of substance is added to the overall meaning of the passage, the pairing here again is purely for the purpose of establishing and maintaining a rhythm and balance which carries the plot along almost effortlessly.

In both of the above passages almost all the doubling is between single words, whether simple or compound, with only one case each of repetition between an izāfa group and an entire clause. Although one would find a slightly higher proportion of reduplication involving izāfa groupings, the incidences of doubling in the entire translation could be ranked in the same order, with doubled single words rapidly taking an unassailable lead. As the percentage of singles is greatly reduced in Naṣrollāh and Kul Mes'ūd, and further diminished in Kāṣifī and 'Alī, one might postulate that sophistication in the use of this device lies in the camouflaging of the reduplication by couching it within a greater number of words.

The far simpler, but still effective, repetition of single words which one finds in the Zangid translation offers further

evidence of the colloquialness of its nature, and its nearness to oral narrative. Indeed, far from attempting to disguise such pairing, al-Boḥārī (or at least, his calligrapher) at times uses an orthographic device, a hamza over the conjunctive vāv, to emphasize the relationship of the words. In the second of the above passages, for example, a hamza-vāv connects tarār and sar-andarūn, though why sāda-vo-ablah does not merit similar emphasis is not clear. Other pairs which do merit the special conjunction in the manuscript are:

...va har nau'-yi bandagān-ō-cākarān dārī... (Zan 94b/12-13)

...palīd-ō-mordār... (Zan 55b/18)

...har dū-rā gorsna-vo-barahna mī-dāšt... (Zan 55b/1)

...dar-īn rūzgār-i tanhāy-vo-bī-kasī... (Zan 83a/18)

...va imrūz dar kār-hā tafakkor-ō-ihtiyāt kardan  
aulī-tar az... (Zan 51b/18)

...šāyad kī ba-dān kana'at konad-ō-rižā dihad ... (Zan 22b/5)

In all the above instances the hamza-vāv connects two equivalent or similar ideas, but the form is also used to unite items having other relationships as well:

...dar hāl-i mūs-ō-bāz nazar konī... (Zan 25a/8)

...dāstān-i rāhib-ō-rāsū... (Zan 86a/1)

...kī ḥayr-i tū-vo-mā dar vay bāšad... (Zan 24a/2-3)

...ba-ḥap-ō-rāst ḡirā mī-gardānī? (Zan 53b/5)

...īn zan-i dīgar rūy ba-sū-yi ḥ<sup>v</sup>īš kard-ō-goft...  
(Zan 55b/3-4)

...bar-ḥīz-ō-bay-ā! (Zan 90b/16)

...bar-girift-ō-ba-raft. (Zan 89a/7)

On occasion the hamza-vāv is used to connect repeated clauses thus:

...az hāna-vo-'iyāl ġāfil gašt-ō-īṣān-rā farāmūš kard.

(Zan 82b/9)

The use of the hamza-vāv is an interesting and apparently unique method of indicating close relationships between words, phrases, etc., coupled by a conjunction. It would seem that the device appears in the manuscript with al-Boḥārī's approval since the copy is a unicum and was presented to Ibn Zangī by al-Boḥārī himself.

Now let us turn to Nasrollāh and his use of repetition. As noted earlier, he relies less upon the doubling of single words and more upon doubled clauses. The following excerpt from Nasrollāh occurs before the tale of the Two Partners, one of whom is intelligent, the other ignorant, and it is in the words of Kalīla as before:

Va kār-i tū hamīn mizāc dārad, va hargiz pand na-pazīrī  
va 'izat-i nāsihān dar gūš na-gozārī. Va har āyna dar  
sar-i īn istibdād-o-isrār šavī va az īn zark-o-ša'vaza,  
vaktī pašimān gardī ki biš sūd na-dārad, va zabān-i hirad  
dar gūš-i tū h<sup>v</sup>ānad ki tarakta ar-ra'va bi-'r-ra'vyi.  
Laḥtī-yi pošt-i dast hā'i va rū-yi sīna hirāšī ḡonān-ki  
ān zīrak-ī moḡaffal kard va sūd na-dāst.

(NasM 117/7-10)

In this passage, almost all the reduplication manifests itself in the form of repetitive clauses, a method which is far more subtle than the doubling of single words employed by al-Boḥārī. Here Nasrollāh allows only two pairs of single words,

and the two pairs are in turn paired with each other, thus forming a quadruple. (In the section on sac' earlier, it was noted how Nasrollāh sometimes deals with quadrupled single words.)

Another rather subtle means of repetition favoured by Nasrollāh is the inclusion of Arabic, usually in the form of a proverb, a line from the Kur'ān, or verse. Similarly, he occasionally includes Persian aphorisms or verse to reinforce his ideas. Bahār notes that Nasrollāh is the first Persian writer of a non-historical or non-religious work to employ this device, but that many others would follow his lead.<sup>(1)</sup> In this instance Nasrollāh has selected a witty and punning Arabic proverb to support Kalīla's argument.

Next we come to Kāṣifī's rendering of this same passage, again in the words of Kalīla:

Man bāb-i naṣīhat-rā bar tū masdūd na-mī-gardānam, valī  
az īn mī-tarsam ki binā-yi kār-i ḥ<sup>v</sup>ad bar zark-o-ḥīla  
nihāda'ī va ḥ<sup>v</sup>ad-ra'y-o-ḥ<sup>v</sup>ad-kāmī pīṣa girifta. Bi'sa  
'l-isti'dādu 'l-istibdād. Vaktī ki paṣīmān ṣavī sūd  
na-dārad, va har ṣand pošt-i dast ḥā'ī va rū-yi sīna  
ḥarāṣī fā'ida na-dārad; va mohimmī kī asās-i ān mobtanā  
bar makr-o-ḡadr bāṣad, 'ākibat-i ān ba-vaḡāmat va  
ḥātimat-i ān ba-sa'āmat mīy-ancāmad; ṣonān-ki ān ṣarīk-i  
zīrak-rā oftād, vabāl-i ḥīla-yi ū ḥalka-yi dām-i balā  
ṣoda ba-halk-aṣ dar āvīht; va ṣarīk-i ḡāfil ba-barakat-i  
rāstī-vo-sāda-dilī ba-morād rasīd.

(Kas 152/5-10)

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(1) Sabk , II, p.270.



Kāṣifī clearly represents a further development of the methods of duplication chosen by Naṣrollāh, for nearly every idea expressed in the above passage finds its mirror image in some form. Virtually everything is doubled and, for this reason, reduplication has not been indicated by underlining in this or the following passages. In striking contrast to al-Boḥārī, however, almost all the repetition manifests itself in entire clauses rather than in doubled single words, although Kāṣifī does use simpler repetition as well. Another reduplication in this text occurs in the form of the almost totally rhymed and balanced 'akibat-i ān ba-vaḥāmat and ḥātimat-i ān ba-sa'āmat.

In the Anvār-i Sohaylī also there is a line of Arabic, different from that in Naṣrollāh's text but doubtless inspired by the word istibdād appearing in the same Persian sentence. The Arabic aphorism which Kāṣifī selected or composed is a refreshing jingle containing two words syntactically and poetically in rhyme with each other - and one which would present little difficulty to a native Persian speaker whose Arabic was weak.

The following is Abū Faḥr's version of the same passage:  
 Man dar-i naṣīhat kardan bāz na-mīy-āyam, līkin andīṣa-yi  
 man ān-ast ki tū kār-i ḥ<sup>v</sup>ad bar farīb nihāda'ī va rūzgār-i  
 ḥ<sup>v</sup>ad ba-ḥīla mī-goẓarānī va ba-ḥ<sup>v</sup>ad-kāmī-vo-ḥ<sup>v</sup>ad-ra'yī  
 giriftārī. Vaktī paṣīmān ḥ<sup>v</sup>āhī ḡod ki paṣīmānī, sūd  
 na-dāṣta bāṣad, va har ṣand poṣt-i dast ḥā'ī va rū-yi  
 sīna ḥarāṣī fā'ida na-dihad; har kārī ki bar makr-o-ḥīla  
 ast, 'akibat-i ān ziyān-i zadagī-vo-ḥarābī ast; ṣonān-ṣi  
 ān tīz-ḥūṣ-rā pīṣ āmad.

(Abu 93/11-15)

In this passage Abū Faḡl carries over much of Kāṣifī's repetition, but simultaneously culls much material and simplifies the vocabulary. Gone, too, are all the Arabic aphorisms, a feature deemed essential by both Naṣrollāh and Kāṣifī. The repetition which has survived in this version is mostly at the more sophisticated level of clauses, although paired single words also remain.

Because the degree and style of repetition is probably more strongly determined than are other rhetorical features by the text from which a translation is made, it is not surprising to find that the Turkish experience is again largely parallel to the Persian in this respect:

Ve seniñ işiniñ daķı mizācı vardır kim sen hergiz  
ögüt kabūl kılmazsın ve ögütçileriñ söziñ  
kulağına koymazsın. Lācirem oşbu fitne-vü-su'bede  
soñi peşīmān olasın, ve sonrağı peşīmānlık hīç  
aşsı kılmaya. Şöylekim ol bir zīrek kişi ol  
ġāfil ortağına fitne eyledi, hīç aşsı kılmadı.

(Kul 44/31-45/1)

Thus Kul Mes'ūd's text above does not differ markedly from Naṣrollāh's in this respect, except that he does not include a line of Arabic and has deleted the pair of clauses concerning the biting of the back of one's hand and the beating of one's breast. In only one instance has Mes'ūd doubled a single word, fitne-vü-su'bede, and this occurs in the same position as in Naṣrollāh's version.

'Alī Çelebi, on the other hand, does not shorten this

passage in any way:

Ben menāfi'-yi naṣīhatimi senden dirīg itmezim,  
emma ne fa'ide ki sen esās-ı kārīnı mekr-u-hīle  
üzere binā kılursın, ve efkārında istiklāl-u-  
istibdādı pīşnihād idib tūrursın. Bi'sa 'l-isti'dādu  
wa-'l-istibdād. Bir vakt nādım olasın ki nedāmet  
fā'ide vermeye, ve taşlarla dögünüb nāhun-ı  
melāmetle rū-yı sīneñi harāş idesın sūdmenđ olmaya.  
Her kimse ki teb'āt-ı mekrden endīşe itmeyib,  
hīle-vü-ğadrı kendüye pīşe eyleye 'ākıbeti vaḥāmete  
ve ḥatımeti se'me yetişe, ve āhirü 'l-emr girdāb-ı  
nedāmet-ü-ğarkāb-ı melāmete düşe; nite ki şerīk-i  
'ākil düşdi, ve hībāle-yi hīlesi ḥalkına ḥalka-yı  
dām-ı belā olub, şerīk-i ğāfil sıdk-ı istikāmeti  
berekātı-yle murād-u-maḳsūdına yetiştı.

(Alı 220/7-16)

The Hümāyūn-nāma here represents an expansion of Kāşifī's text, with all the amplification carried out according to the theory expressed earlier, namely that reduplication becomes increasingly sophisticated by relying less upon single words and more upon clauses. Furthermore, in both Kāşifī and 'Alī the repeated clauses are more frequently parallel in construction and rich in sac' relationships than are those in preceding versions. 'Alī has retained the Arabic sentence contained in the Anvār-ı Sohaylī, but in a slightly altered form - although in the case of either work the printed version here transcribed may represent an aberration from the author's original text.

'Osmānzāda alters the entire organisation of the Hümāyūn-

nāma so that the equivalent passage of the Semār ūl-Esmār quoted below is not in the words of a chiding Kalīla to a repentant Dimna, but rather those of a general narrator to the reader:

Bu meşeli ĩrāddan murād budur ki kimine aḥbābıñ  
kelāmin sem'-i kabŭlla istimā' itmeye kendü helākine  
sa'y itmiş olur (beyt):

Aña der'ākıl olanlar ĥiredmend

Ki gūş-ı hūş ile işgā [ide] pend.

Her kimse ki teb'āt-ı mekrden endīşe itmeyib ĥile-  
vü-ğadrı kendüye pīşe eyleye 'ākıbeti vaḥāmete ve  
ḥātımeti şe'me yetişir; ve āḥirü 'l-emr girdāb-ı  
melāmete düşüb ġarkāb-ı nedāmet olur, ḥikāyet olinur  
ki...

(Osm 114/10-14)

The first half of this section is largely original to 'Osmānzāda and includes a form of repetition frequently used by his predecessors, namely the inclusion of verse; the second half clearly reflects the Hümāyūn-nāma, including all its repetition. At no time in this passage does 'Osmānzāda use single word reduplications not found in 'Alī's text. Although the quantity of repetition represented here has decreased, the degree is roughly in proportion to the reduction in size of the overall text, so that one senses that 'Osmānzāda recognized the purpose and usefulness of reiteration.

Aḥmed Midḥat Efendi also reorganizes the narrative, though only to a minor degree, so that in the following it is partly Kalīla and partly a narrator speaking:

Kelīle bu ḥikāyeye söyleyerek <İşte benimde saña

naşihat diñletdirmeğe çalışmaklığım ihtimal ki bu kuşa olduğu gibi bañada zararlı olur isede, ne yapayım ki saña şadakatım olduğundan bir dürlü kendimi zabt edemiyorum > diye, her hâlde nezd-i mülûkda hizmet edenlerin böyle yalanlar ve tolanlar iyle şunu bunu belāya uğratmaları, asla müstahsen bir şey olmayacağını anlatmakta devām eyledi. Hele işi gücü hîle ve hud'adan 'ibāret olan entriğanların 'ākibeti mutlaka kendi ziyānlarına müncer olacağı hakkında bir hikāye-yi pür-'ibret şöyledi ki şudur: ...

(Mid 174/14-175/6)

The Hulāsa-yi Hümāyün-nāma here displays little of the clause repetition which is so prevalent in the Hümāyün-nāma itself, but rather states ideas in the concise manner more in keeping with the style of late nineteenth-century Istanbul society. There are several instances in this passage of single words being duplicated, but in the case of yalanlar ve tolanlar and şunu bunu the pairs consist of words which are almost obligatorily paired by writers even today. The only remaining doubling here, hîle ve hud'a, is more in keeping with the traditions of high Ottoman prose style. Of incidental interest is Midhat's use of the Italian entriğan, the use of which in these circumstances is definitely not in keeping with Ottoman tradition.

The pattern of development in the use of reiteration in the two literatures thus parallels to some extent the experience of sac' and of simile/metaphor, but the 'downfall' of this particular device is not so easily traced in the text here examined. The

'earliest' text, that of al-Boḥārī, relies chiefly on the doubling of single words - usually adjectives - and only slightly upon clause doubling. This is a simple method reminiscent of the story-telling tradition. More sophisticated is the use of increased clause repetition favoured first by Nasrollāh and Kul Mes'ūd and brought to its peak by Kāṣifī and 'Alī Çelebi. After the Anvār-i Sohaylī and the Hümāyūn-nāma, the use of the device tends to 'blur' in that while it continues to be employed and appreciated, it is not applied with the same imagination and originality as before. One can follow the art of reiteration in Turkish literature almost down to the present century and find that clause-oriented repetition has deteriorated, but that based on single words is still to some degree in general use.

#### CONCLUSION

Among the four Persian and four Turkish versions of Kalīla wa-Dimna studied here there is discernable a clear pattern of development and decline in the use of the various rhetorical features. The Zangid translation, while for the most part enjoyable to read, is the least sophisticated of the texts. Al-Boḥārī's use of sac' is rudimentary when compared with later versions, his simile/metaphor is restricted, and his technique of repetition is rather simple, closely approximating that of oral story-tellers.

The immediate impression given by the Kalīla va Dimna-yi Bahrāmsāhī is that of a product of much greater scholarship and

erudition, for Nasrollāh makes skilful use of both poetic and syntactical rhyme, his range of simile/metaphor is wide and imaginative, and his more subtle use of reiteration is based to a greater extent upon whole clauses as opposed to single words.

Kāṣifī in his turn follows the same direction of development as Nasrollāh, and proceeds to the zenith of rhetorical exuberance. Abū Faḏl, in his 'Iyār-i Dāniš', represents a retreat from what Akbar Ṣāh regarded as the rhetorical excesses of Kāṣifī, and is engaged more in deleting than in creating, thus initiating the long process of decline.

The development of the Turkish versions of Kalīla wa-Dimna runs roughly parallel to the Persian, with the Kelile ve Dimne of Kul Mes'ūd, the Hümāyūn-nāma of 'Alī Çelebi and the Ṣemār ül-Esmār of 'Osmānzāda being the equivalent of the works of Nasrollāh, Kāṣifī and Abū Faḏl. Just as the 'Iyār-i Dāniš' initiates the decline in Persian, so does the Ṣemār ül-Esmār in Turkish. The Hulāsa-yi Hümāyūn-nāma of Ahmed Midhat shows how far traditional high Ottoman literary values had declined by 1886 and how a new form of Turkish literature was gaining strength by building both on the ruins of Ottoman letters and on a perception of Western European literature.

The various Persian and Turkish versions thus develop and decline in a fashion parallel to one another, but also parallel to the changing styles in education at the time of each of the authors. That this should have been the case is, in the light of the foregoing discussion, inevitable.

## CHAPTER IV

### NARRATIVE TECHNIQUE

The particular composition of 'tales within tales' (to borrow the title of Wollaston's book) which makes up the work collectively known as Kalīla wa-Dimna has lent itself to a wide variety of purposes by an equally numerous succession of authors; for its amusing stories of animals and men have captured the imagination of generations of children and adults in many cultures, and many have been guided and influenced by the moral precepts which it expounds.

Obviously, no-one would go to the trouble of revising and reworking an entire book of this length unless he (or his patron) were convinced that (a) existing versions were somehow inadequate and (b) the work had sufficient intrinsic worth to merit renewed attention. Most of the writers studied here, indeed, make some statement to this effect, noting that so-and-so's wording is obscure and no longer considered worth the effort of reading, that either too much or too little material is included, or that the work is poorly organized. Each revisor has set out to rectify these real or alleged shortcomings, and in so doing has placed his own individual stamp upon the work.

In this chapter we shall be looking at some of the stylistic features which make up the story-telling technique of each of the works, first noting the narrative pace and arrangement of tales, then comparing specific versions.



A. NARRATIVE PACE

The basic plot and outline for the versions of Kalīla wa-Dimna studied in this thesis have been received directly or indirectly from Ibn Mukaffa's Arabic version - although it will be seen in the next section how 'Osmānzāda takes it upon himself to reorganize the text in so individual a manner that many of the generalizations in this section cannot apply to his Semār ūl-Esmār. Thus, 'Osmānzāda aside, all the versions have essentially the same framework into which the chapters and individual fables are fitted, deriving directly from Ibn Mukaffa's organization. Further, the Arabic supplies, within each tale and frame story, the plot and its sequence, the moral to be gleaned and the proper timing for its statement. It is by comparison with Ibn Mukaffa's version that we may determine how successive authors alter its 'basic' narrative flow.

An author has numerous devices at his disposal with which he may consciously or unconsciously vary the pace of his narration; for the purposes of discussion we may divide these devices into two categories, namely syntactical and extra-syntactical. Among those categorized as syntactical (many of which were analyzed in preceding chapters) can be included (1) sentence and clause length, (2) vocabulary choice, (3) use of direct or indirect speech, (4) degree of colloquialness of direct speech, and (5) the employment of sac' and parallelism.

(1) Sentence and clause length.

A very common means in literature of speeding or slowing

the progress of the narrative is variation in the length of sentences and clauses. In general, the longer and more complicated such groupings are, the slower the resulting pace, whereas the greater the variation between long and short, complex and simple, the easier the reading becomes. In a philosophical discussion or elaborate description one would expect to find long clauses, while short clipped ones would be more usual in the denouement of an exciting tale.

In each of these versions of the fables we find that this device has been used to some degree, although it is probably most noticeable in the case of al-Boḥārī, whose work is closest to the style of a story-teller. In his translation, the sentences are simplest and shortest when the story is reaching its climax, longest and most involved when discussing abstract moral principles, and of medium length and complexity at most other times. Throughout most of his text al-Boḥārī maintains a fairly even balance of long and short sentences and thereby achieves a regular, easy pace; his philosophizing, however, almost invariably slows down considerably due to the preponderance of an unbroken sequence of involved sentences.

An example of his use of short sentences, some of which he connects with va, is the following, where a barber's wife tricks her husband into believing he has cut off her nose:

Dar hāl zan-k ḥ<sup>v</sup>ad-rā bazr mī-zad va ba ḥāk  
ba-ḡaltīd va bāng-o-firyād-o-nafīr bar-āvard va  
goft, "Āh bīnī, āh bīnī!" va bar mard ḡandānī  
taṣnī' ba-kard kī andāza na-būd. Nafīr-o-maṣḡala  
ba-ḡuṣ-i ḥ<sup>v</sup>iṣ-o-payvand-i zan ba-rasīd. Comla

cam' amadand va mard-i haccām-rā ba-giriftand va  
piš-i kāzī bordand.

(Zan 29a/3-5)

Here the pace is hastened by the preponderance of short words and small subject-predicate groupings which are easily and quickly understood.

In another passage Dimna's discourse to the lion-king becomes somewhat convoluted and confused when he philosophizes about the duties of a king:

Pādšāh bāyad kī ḥakḳ-i dānāyān firū na-gozārad va  
ba-zīrakān ba-naẓar-i ḥakārat na-nigarad, kī ḥalk  
dar-īn ma'nā bar dū ṭabāka-and: gorūhī-rā sar-  
kašī-vo-tondī dar ṭab' bovad, va maṣāl-i īṣān ġun  
maṣāl-i mār bovad kī agar kaṣī pāy bar vay nihad  
va mār vay-rā ba-nigarad, dar 'akl na-bovad kī  
ba-dān i'timād dīgar-bāra pāy bar vay nihad,  
kī agar ān bār na-gazīd va ṭab'-i ḥ<sup>v</sup>ad pūšīda  
dāšt momkin bovad kī īn bār ṭab'-i ḥ<sup>v</sup>ad bāz  
nomāyad va ba-gīrad-o-ba-gazāyad ...

(Zan 25a/12-16)

It is obvious what al-Boḥārī is intending to say, but his manner of expressing the idea is clumsy and circuitous. As a result, the pace of the narrative in such a passage is seriously retarded and far more restricted than the content would demand.

The remaining versions in both languages, though relying less upon shortened sentences and sentence elements than does al-Boḥārī's translation, nevertheless employ the device to a degree. In both Kāṣifī and 'Alī, for example, the inclusion

of fewer ornate descriptions and lengthy parallel elements serves to shorten the sentence and to hasten the narrative at the desired times. A sample from *Kāṣifī* is the following, again selected from the tale in which the nose of the barber's wife is cut off:

Zan h<sup>v</sup>ad-rā bay-afkand va āvāz bar-kaṣīd ki  
Bīnī! Haccām motahayyir ṣod va akribā-vo-  
hamsāyagān dar-āmada, zan-rā-bā cāma-yi hūn-  
ālūda-vo-bīnī-borīda dīdand. Zabān-i malāmat  
bar ostād goṣādand va ān bīṣāra hayrān mād,  
na rū-yi ikrāb dāšt va na zabān-i inkār.  
Ammā, ḡun sobh-i cahān-afrūz parda-yi zolmat  
az pīṣ pardāht va āyīna-yi gītī-nomā-yi āftāb  
ḡun cām-i Camṣīd dorohṣān ṣod (bayt)  
Bar-afrāht rāyat sipahdār-i ṣark  
Ṣah-i ḡarb dar baḡr-i hūn gašt ḡark  
akribā-yi zan-i haccām cam' āmada, haccām-rā  
ba-kāzī bordand.

(Kas 96/20-97/2)

Missing from this passage is much of the embellishment which typifies the style of the *Anvār-i Sohaylī*, but still present are such flourishes as repetition, poetry and an abruptly and surprisingly ornate sentence describing the coming of dawn.

'Alī modifies this passage somewhat to read:

Nāgāh zen feryād eyledi ve "Meded, burnum!"  
diyū kendūsın yerden yere urdu. Haccām mütehayyir  
kaldı. Akribā-vu-hemsāyeler haccāmuñ evine  
cem' oldılar, zenī hūn-ālūde-vü-bīnī-bürīde

gördiler. Haccāma zebān-ı melāmeti dirāz ve  
envā'-yı itāle-vü-esnāf-ı serzenişe āgāz itdiler.  
Ol bîçāre hayrān kaldı, ne inkār mecālî var ve  
ne ikrār idecek hālî var. Çün çehre-yi rûz-ı  
cihān-efrûz verā-yı perde-yi zulmetden nümāyān  
ve āyîne-yi gītî-nümā-yı hürşîd cām-ı Cemşîd  
gibi dirâşsān oldu (beyt)

Çü subh oldu vu yüz gösterdi hürşîd  
Felek aldı eline cām-ı Cemşîd  
akrabā-yı zen cem' olub haccāmı kâzîye iltidiler.

(Ali 146/5-13)

In accepting many of Kāşifî's readings here, 'Alî writes sentences which are shorter and less grandiose than his usual ones, yet in several instances he enlarges upon the Persian so that the overall pace is rather slower than that of the Anvār-ı Sohaylî. It is evident, however, that both Kāşifî and 'Alî Çelebi recognize the device of abbreviated sentence elements which results in the hastening of the narrative, a device which is employed in varying degrees by all the authors studied herein.

## (2) Vocabulary choice.

In the same way that the complexity and length of clauses and sentences can regulate pace, so also can the ease or difficulty with which individual words are read. Among these versions there are fewer uncommon Arabic words and a greater concentration of short everyday words employed when the plot demands speed, as in the three passages above. Simultaneously, there is a definite movement away from such lengthy elements as

causative verbs and passive constructions. In the tale of the Lion and the Hare, for example, sections five and six of the transcription in none of the renderings include any words which might cause difficulty or hesitation due to obscurity or length, while in contrast the early sections contain numerous words of this kind, which would serve to slow the reader. One would not expect to find a concentration of words of Arabic derivation as monauvar, mocāvarat, mota'arriž, movazzaf, tahāvon, možāyakat, mokāsāt or mosāmahat in the denouement of a story, yet all are found in the first sections of the tale of the Hare and the Lion in Nasrollāh's version.

In the following passage from the same tale, however, Nasrollāh is seen to use fewer, shorter and more common Arabic words.

Şīr ū-rā dar bar girift va ba-çāh firū nigarīst.  
Hayāl-i ħ<sup>v</sup>ad va az ān-i hargūş ba-dīd. Ū-rā ba-  
gozāşt va ħ<sup>v</sup>ad-rā dar çāh afgand, va ġautī ħ<sup>v</sup>ord  
va nafs-i ħūn-ħ<sup>v</sup>ār-o-cān-i mordār ba-mālik  
sipord.

(NasM 87/11-13)

Succeeding versions hardly elaborate this passage at all, so that even after the text has passed through the hands of 'Alī Çelebi it contains no words to challenge the reader and the narrative moves rapidly in the manner the story demands.

Şīr ħargūşı duşuna alub, çāha nazar itdi.  
Kendünün ve ol ħargūşun sūretin şuda görüb  
ħayāl itdi ki ol şīr-i bed-fa'āl ve ol  
ħargūş dır ki kendüye ırsāl olınmışdur.

Fī 'l-hāl ḥargūşı koyub kendüsin ol çāh-ı  
āba atdı ve bir iki ğūta-iyle nefis-i le'īmin  
zebāniye-yi zebāne-yi caḥīme teslīm itdi.

(Ali 167/21-25)

(3) The use of direct or indirect speech.

While it could be argued that the entire book of Kalīla wa-Dimna is in direct speech, in effect it is not, for each new story-teller in the text becomes the new narrator. (It is interesting, incidentally, that thieves and simpletons are able to narrate tales with the same skill and erudition as kings and philosophers.) In itself, the employment of direct or indirect speech is neutral in influencing pace since both devices offer essentially the same possibilities for variation as does normal narrative. Direct speech, very much the more prevalent of the two in all versions, offers the author an extra means of accelerating the narration, since a character is allowed to speak in much shorter sentences than are normally expected in prose.

Al-Boḥārī makes particularly effective use of this device, for passages such as the following fairly race along, eased by direct quotation of informal speech. (Here a clever businessman has falsely accused his simple partner of thievery before a judge.)

Hākīm az ān mard-i sāda cavāb ḥ<sup>v</sup>āst. [Ablah]  
goft: "Ḥabar na-dāram!" va "Āgāh nīstam!" Ān  
tarrār goft kī: "Āḥir dānī kī coz man-o-tū  
hiç kas-i dīgar na-dānast." Każī moḥtāl-rā  
goft: "Govā dārī?" Tarrār goft: "Dāram."

[Kāzī] goft: "Bay-ār." [Tarrār] goft: "Ān  
diraht kī zar dar zīr-i ū būd az bahr-i man  
govāhī dihad." Davār-rā īn sohan šigift āmad.  
Goft: "Ay 'acab! Diraht govāhī čigūna dihad?"  
[Tarrār] goft: "Fardā bāmdād ū-rā ba-gūyam tā  
govāhī ba-dihad."

(Zan 46a/2-6)

As we can safely presume that the foregoing conversation is quite near to the everyday speech of al-Boḥārī's contemporaries, its appearance in a text would certainly serve to enliven the narrative.

A similar example occurs in Nasrollāh's text at the point in the story where Dimna visits the lion-king after an extended absence.

Šīr goft: "Rūz-hā-st ki na-dīda-am. Ḥayr  
ast?" [Dimna] goft: "Ḥayr bāšad." Šīr  
az cāy ba-šod, ba-porsīd ki: "Čizī hādīs  
šoda-ast?" [Dimna] goft: "Ārī." [Šīr] farmūd  
ki: "Bāz gū'ī." [Dimna] goft: "Dar hāl-i  
firāg-o-halā rāst āyad."

(NasM 88/10-12)

Though relatively plain by the standards of the Hümāyūn-nāma, by the time this passage has been elaborated by 'Alī Çelebi it is more complex, yet still easily flowing.

Šīr eyitdi: "Ḥaylī müddetdür ki görünmezsın.  
Ḥayr mudur?" Dimne itdi: "Melik devletinde  
ümıddür ki ḥayr ola." Šīr eyitdi: "Çehreñde



eser-i ğam ve beşreñde jeng-i elem var.

Hikmet nedür?" Dimne eyitdi: (beyt)

"Eger çî ğuşşaya hikmet gerekdür

Velikin kıssaya halvet gerekdür.

Al-hikmatu 'arūsun turīdu 'l-bayta hāliyan."

(Ali 168/14-18)

By the use of verse and parallelism 'Alī has exchanged one device (Nasrollāh's near-colloquiality and single-word responses) for another which also serves to hasten the narrative.

Another factor which can enliven pace is the deliberate alternation of direct and indirect speech. Especially in the more ornate works, a simple two or three word quotation provides excellent contrast in an environment of complex and highly rhymed clauses. Frequently, however, Kāşifī and 'Alī Çelebi put very ornate and complicated sac sentences into directly quoted conversations, showing that neither author believed that direct speech must necessarily be informal. An example of this is the following excerpt from a conversation between the lion and Dimna:

Şīr goft: Soĥanān-i tū dar dil-i man cāy  
girift, va ĥolūs-i monāsaĥat-i tū-rā dānistam.  
Fa-ammā Īn-sūrat dāmangīr-i man ast ki ū-rā  
bar-dāşta-am va 'alam-i takrīb-o-tamşiyat-i  
ū-rā bar-afraşta; va dar macālis-o-mahāfil  
ū-rā sanā-hā gofta va zikr-i ĥirad-o-diyānat  
va iĥlās-o-amānat-i ū bar zabān rānda.  
Agar ĥilāf-i ān ravā dāram, ba-tanākoż-i kaul-

o-ḥiffat-i zāt-o-rakākat-i ra'y mansūb gardam,  
va soḥan-i man dar ḥāṭir-hā bī-kadr şavad.

(Kas 121/22-122/2)

These lines are clearly far removed from the one and two-word sentences quoted earlier and at the same time are not as grandiose as their own 'translation' in the Hümāyūn-nāma.

(4) The degree of colloquiality in direct speech.

Because colloquial speech is, by definition, closer to everyday language, its application to narrative prose can have the effect of heightening interest and speeding the pace. The Kalīla wa-Dimna authors most inclined to use this device are al-Boḥārī and Ahmed Midḥat (who represent, interestingly, both the 'earliest' and the most recent of the authors); the conversational sections of each of their texts come alive through the colloquialisms and must have been particularly appealing to their contemporaries. Thus we find in al-Boḥārī's text a female duck addressing her mate:

"Ḥūṣ kī ma-rā vakt-i ḥāya kardan āmada-ast.  
Ma-rā cāygāhī-yi ḥaşīn-o-ḥarīz ba-dast āvar  
tā ḥāya niham va baça bar-āvaram bā dilī ayman-  
-o-sākin."

(Zan 41b/17-19)

In a later tale a merchant who has entrusted some iron to an acquaintance and then requests its return, receives instead the reply:

"Āhan-i tū ba-gūṣa-yi ḥāna nihāda būd, mūṣān  
ba-ḥ<sup>v</sup>ordand."

Mard-i bāzārgān goft: "Sipās ān Ḥodāy-rā kī  
to-rā az ān mūṣān nigāh dāšt!"

(Zan 47a/13-14)

On his way out the merchant silently abducts the other man's  
son. Later the merchant is asked:

"Ay birādar, hīç cā'ī pisarī-yi kūçak az ān-i  
man dīdī?"

[Bāzargān] goft: "In sā'at bāzī dīdam kī az  
havā dar-parīd va kūdakī-rā bar-girift va  
ba-bord. Magar pisar-i tū būd."

Mard-i ḥā'in āvāz bar-dāšt kī: "Ay 'acab!

Hargaz kī dīda-ast bāzī kī kūdak robāyad!"

Ḥodāvand-i āhan goft kī: "Dar ṣahrī kī mūṣān-i  
ū sad man āhan ba-ḥ<sup>v</sup>orand, 'acab ma-dār kī  
bāzān-i ū pīl robāyand."

(Zan 47a/17-47b/2)

The style of the above direct quotations, conveying to contemporary  
readers a light-hearted familiarity, certainly speeds the pace  
of the narrative in a manner which non-colloquial indirect  
speech could not achieve. The same can be noted in the following  
lines from Ahmed Midhat's version of the same tale.

Ertesi gün dostunuñ ziyāfetine vardıkda  
herīfi nālān ve giryān görmekle sebebini  
sordukda "Āh birāder! Bir oğlumu ğāybetdim.

Şu kiyāfetde bu kıbālda idi" deyince, t̄acir  
"Vay! O seniñ oğlun mu idi? Ben bu kıbālda  
bir çocuk gördüm ki bir çaylak pençesine  
takarak ber havā eylemişidi" dedi isede, dostu  
bu söze kanar mı? Herif "Cānım birāder! Bu  
nasıl lakırdı? Bir okka gelmeyen çaylak on  
onbeş okkalık çocuğu kaldırıp getüre bilür mü?"  
deyince, t̄acir "Evet! Yüz dirhem gelmeyen  
bir fare, yüz batman timuru nasıl yer ise  
çaylak da çocuğu öyle götürür" dedi.

(Mid-186/8-187/1)

While both al-Boḥārī and Ahmed Midḥat show themselves to be masters of this style, the other authors do not generally allow themselves to slip into colloquial speech.

(5) The employment of sac' and parallelism.

Parallel and rhymed sentences, as has already been noted, can be extremely effective in controlling the pace of a text, for the use of sac' may create anything from a halting rhythm to a rapid staccato. Sac' and parallelism need not be composed in large cumbersome sentences, but may be written into sentences of any length capable of evoking a whole spectrum of moods and feelings. The authors who use these forms to their greatest advantage are, of course, Kāşifī and 'Alī Çelebi, but most of the writers use them to some effect.

The following extract from the Hümāyūn-nāma sets up a steady pace through simple radīf parallelism in which the

final verbs of clauses have similar endings:

Şavāb oldur ki evc-i havāya çıkasın ve  
ābādānlıklar mukābelesinde temāşā idüb  
bāmlarına bakasın; her kanda ki bir pirāye  
göresin kapub havāya kalkasın, ammā bir  
vechle ki 'uyūndan gā'ib olmayasın.

(Ali 159/23-160/2)

More complicated examples of sac' and parallelism occur in this passage of 'Alī's:

Dimne vehm itdi ki eger bu kelām sem'-i  
Şetrebeye vāşıl ola, der hāl berā'et-i  
sāhat-i zimmetin zamīr-i şīre rūşen kıla ve  
anuñ mekr-ü-hīlesi nihān-hāne-yi hafādan  
'arşa-yı zuhūra gele. [Dimne] eyitdi: "Ey  
melik, re'y-i mezbūr tarīk-i hazmdan dūr,  
ve menhec-i ihtiyātdan be-gāyet mehcūrdur.  
Bir kelām mādāmki kalbde tura, kāle gelmeye,  
dā'ire-yi ihtiyārda dāhildür, ammā ba'de  
'l-izhār anuñ tedārüki havze-yi iktidārdan  
hāricdür."

(Ali 180/9-14)

Through its combination of rhymes (e.g. upon -et, -ir and -ür), radīf parallelism at the end of clauses and plays upon iẖtiyār and iktidār and upon the syntactically-rhymed opposites dāẖil and ẖāric, the above passage creates its own lilting rhythm and pace. Indeed, without such relationships the reading

of the lines would be considerably slowed and perhaps even ambiguous. Similarly, the elaborate description of the fictitious lake in chapter three, pages 98 to 99 of this thesis, shows how the authors of several versions viewed the need for description and its effect upon the narrative pace at that point in the story; both Nasrollāh and Mes'ūd expand the Arabic (perhaps to what they felt were its reasonable limits) through sac' and parallelism, but Kāṣifī and 'Alī in turn apply the same means and more than double the amount of material. It is probably the case that such augmentation of the tale is feasible only because the existence and application of such forms as rhyme and parallelism made it possible, or perhaps even necessary. The importance of sac' is thus established in the determination of narrative pace.

In addition to these syntactical devices capable of regulating narrative pace are such extra-syntactical ones as (1) the amount, nature and timing of description, (2) the inclusion of philosophizing and moralizing, (3) the inclusion of entire new tales or extended similes, (4) the exclusion of entire tales or extended similes, and (5) the quotation of hadīth, lines from the Kur'ān, and poetry.

(1) The amount, nature and timing of description.

In deciding how thoroughly or elaborately he will enter into description, an author necessarily influences the progress of the narrative. It was noted earlier (in chapter one), for example, how Nasrollāh frequently describes a setting in great detail before introducing any characters - and in this he is

generally followed by his successors in translation. Whereas Ibn Mukaffa' might say only that there was a fish in a lake, Nasrollāh would describe in several intensively-rhymed clauses the clarity, freshness and deepness of the lake, and note only briefly the presence of the fish. In so doing he lengthens the introduction of the tale and helps to create the mood he desires. Although al-Boḥārī generally uses two or three adjectives for every one in the Arabic, he usually devotes about the same amount of space to description as does Ibn Mukaffa'.

An example of such a progression of amplification in description is the following series of opening passages representing the same story, that of the Bird and the Apes, in several versions. Ibn Mukaffa' states the matter quite simply:

Za'amū anna camā'atan mina 'l-kiradati kānū  
sākinīna fī cabalin fa-'ltamasū fī laylatin  
bāridatin ātī riyāhin wa-amṭarin nāran fa-lam  
yacidū.

(Sad 118/1-2)

In this instance al-Boḥārī actually abridges Ibn Mukaffa' by writing:

Āvarda-and dar hikāyāt kī gorūhī az ḥamdunagān  
ṣab-tābī dīdand ...

(Zan 45a/10-11)

According to expectation, however, Nasrollah describes the circumstances in much greater detail:

Āvarda-and kī camā'atī az būzinagān dar kūhī

būdand. Çūn şāh-i sayyāragān ba-ofk-i  
mağribī hīrāmīd va camāl-i cihān-ārāy-rā  
ba-nikāb-i żalām ba-pūşānīd, sipāh-i zang  
ba-ğaybat-i ū bar laşkar-i Rūm çirā gaşt va  
şabī çūn kār-i 'āsī rūz-i maḥşar dar-āmad;  
bād-i samāl 'inān goşāda va rikāb girān karda  
bar būzinagān şabīhūn āvard.

(NasM 116/16-19)

Kāşifī now brings the passage to its zenith in Persian:

Āvarda-and ki camā'atī būzīnagān dar kūhī  
ma'vā dāştand va ba-mīva-hā-vo-giyāh-hā-yi ān  
rūzgār mī-gożarānīdand. Każā-rā şabī,  
siyāh-tar az dil-i gonāhkārān va tīra-tar az  
darūn-i tabāh-rūzgārān, laşkar-i sarmā bar  
īşān tāhtān āvard va az şadmat-i şarşar-i  
zamharīr aşar-i hūn dar tan-i īşān fosordan  
āğāz kard. (nazm)

Zi sarmā dar tamannā şīr-i gardūn  
Ki sāzad bar tan-i h<sup>v</sup>ad pūşt vārūn.  
Ba bostān morğ-rā na'l andar ātiş  
Ki h<sup>v</sup>oš bar bāb-zan gardad bar ātiş.

(Kas 150/22-151/3)

With the exception of al-Boḥārī, the Persian writers of the above passages amplify the imagery and augment the amount of descriptive detail. In so doing, they oblige the reader to assimilate 'extra' information, or material not vital to the



advancement of the narrative. Were this presented inartistically, the entire progress of the tale could be jeopardized and the pace greatly retarded, but through their adroit application of sac' and parallelism Nasrollāh, Kāsifī and later 'Alī Çelebi are able to enliven the plot with imaginative hyperbole and to add a poetic dimension to their prose, thereby heightening the readers' enjoyment and increasing the tension of the story.

There can be little doubt that such additions have their effects upon narrative pace, for it is evident that the greater the amount of material, the more time is consumed in reading and the greater the resulting delay in the progress of the narrative. Such protraction of the text would probably not be noticed, however, by a reader who appreciated deft and ingenious manipulation of language, imagery and allusion, and the fact that the renderings of these three men won immediate and widespread acclaim would attest that readers who approved of this style were sufficiently numerous during the lifetimes of the authors to ensure popularity for the work and renown for the writer.

Succeeding authors generally reduce the amount of description, thereby speeding the narrative simply because there is less material in their texts. At the extreme in this respect is Ahmed Midhat who, as might be expected, describes concisely and only to the degree demanded by the furtherance of the plot.

Ibn Mukaffa', al-Boḥārī and Ahmed Midhat are especially sparing in their description at those times when the plot demands a rapid pace, whereas Nasrollāh and his immediate successors can in such instances be expected to write multi-claused

descriptions, albeit not of the complexity of those early in a tale. An example of this tendency is found in the tale of the Hare and the Lion towards the end, where the Arabic describes the well into which the lion eventually leaps merely as clear and deep; Nasrollāh and his followers, in contrast, wax considerably more verbose in their description of the well's properties before proceeding with the account of the lion's fate.

(2) Inclusion of philosophizing and moralizing.

As the raison d'être of Kalīla wa-Dimna is, theoretically, to teach by example, it is not surprising that the narrative should be broken at times by the recitation of homilies, usually with one character either warning or reproaching another. Such sermons frequently give rise to the telling of new tales or explain one already told, and thus are quite basic to the structure of the work.

Of all the authors, al-Boḥārī is the least successful in maintaining the pace during extended periods of moralizing although, as previously noted, he is quite adept at introducing short and pithy proverbs into the text. (This latter aspect will be looked at in greater detail in Section C of this chapter.) Al-Boḥārī's aptitude clearly lies in story-telling rather than in philosophizing, for when he deals with a section demanding seriousness his prose becomes turgid and heavy and his sentences so clumsy that he occasionally seems to lose his train of thought. An example of such relative prolixity and aimlessness in the Zangid manuscript is this quotation, in the

words of Dimna and addressed to Kalīla:

In sohan kī goftī ṣanīdam va ma'lūm gašt.

Ammā, ba-dān-k na har kasī-rā kī ba-dar-gāh-i

molūk nazdīk gardad ḡaraḡ h<sup>v</sup>orad, va āsāyiṣ

bovad kī ṣikam ba-har-ḡ bar-konī sīr gardad.

Ammā nazdīkī-yi dar-gāh-i molūk az bahr-i ān

bovad kī dūstān ṣādmāna gardad va doṣmanān

~~di~~jam ṣavand, kī bar ṣikam iḥtisār kardan

kār-i dūn-himmatān bovad, ḡun sag-i gorsna kī

ostoḡ<sup>v</sup>ān yābad ba-dān hazār ṣādī konad; ammā

ān-k bozorg-himmat bovad ba-har pāygāhī firū

nay-āyad va ba-har andakī riḡā na-dihad, ḡun

ṣīr kī hargaz āhang-i naḡcīr-i kūḡak na-konad

va ḡangal coz bar ṣayd-i bozorg na-goṣāyad.

Va nīz kī ḡun dūn-himmatī-yi sag ma'lūm

ḡoda-ast, tā hazār bār dom ba-conbānad pāra-yi

nān ba-vay na-dihad, va pīl kī bar maniṣī-yi ū

ma'lūm ast ḡun h<sup>v</sup>ord pīṣ-i vay āvarand tā

tamalloḡ na-konad va sar-aṣ na-ḡārand, hūṣ

na-h<sup>v</sup>orad.

(Zan 22a/10-18)

Although al-Boḡarī's intention is clear, his prose does not approach the lucidity and directness found in his story-telling; in consequence, the narrative pace in this passage falters considerably.

At the opposite extreme are the Anvār-i Sohaylī and the Hūmāyūn-nāma, in which long moralizing passages are so well-

written and enlivened by sac and metaphors that the narrative continues to flow with relative ease. In comparison with the Zangid text, rhyme and parallelism accelerate and animate the following excerpt from Kāşifî, in which Kalîla is berating Dimna:

Hidmatkārān-i kāfî va çākarān-i kār-gozār va  
molāzimān-i mohimm-şinās zib-o-zinat-i bārgāh-i  
molūk-and; amma tū mî-h<sup>v</sup>āhî ki dīgarān az  
molāzamat-i şîr bar taraf bāşand, va tū  
mo'tamadun 'alayhi va moşarun ilayhi bāşî va  
takarrob-i ān-ḥaẓrat bar tū monḥaşir bāşad.  
Va in ma'nā az ḡāyat-i nā-dānî va fart-i  
bî-hiradî-st, çi salāṭîn ba-hiç çîz-o-hiç kas  
mokayyad na-tavānand bûd; va martaba-yi  
saltanat maşāba-yi ḥosn-o-camāl-ast çonān-ki  
maḥbûb-i dil-āvîz-rā har çand 'āşîk (biş-tar)  
bāşad calvat-o-ḥosn-i ū-rā zohûr-i ziyādat  
bovad, solṭān-rā nîz har çand ḥādîm-o-molāzîm  
padîd āyad mayl ba-ziyādatî-yi ḥaşam-o-ḥadam  
h<sup>v</sup>āhad bûd.

(Kas 150/3-9)

In spite of the potential tedium of the topic, these lines create a momentum of their own which carries the narrative along with ease. The same is true of the following list of qualities from the Hümāyûn-nāma which takes up Kalîla's lecture to Dimna exactly where the above excerpt from Kāşifî leaves off:

Bu sevdā-yı ḥām ki 'arşa-yı dimāğunda makām

itmişdür emāret-i nihāyet-i belāhetdür ve  
'alāmet-i ġāyet-i sefāletdür, niteki hükemā  
buyurmuşlardur ki 'alāmet-i humk beş nesnedür:  
ġayruñ mażarretinden kendüye menfā'at taşavvur  
kılmak, ve bī-riyāzat-ü-'ibādet sevāb-ı  
āhiret ricā itmek, ve huşūnet-ü-huşūmet ile  
mu'aşakat-i nisāya mübāşeret itmek, ve rāhat-  
ü-hużūrla dākā'ik-ı 'ulūma vukūf-u-'asūr kaşd  
itmek, ve nakş-ı hukūk-u-buġż-u-'ukūkla nāsdan  
sadākat tevakkuf itmek.

(Alī 217/16-23)

Here again a potentially dull list has, in the hands of 'Alī Çelebi, become an absorbing and rhythmic passage through the application of sac' and is further proof of the ability of skilled writers like Kāşifī and 'Alī to maintain the desired pace under any circumstances.

(3) Inclusion of entire new tales or extended similes.

The insertion of extra tales and extended similes frequently requires a rearrangement of the 'host' story's plot so as to accommodate the newcomer. Such an addition, unless particularly exciting, of course has the effect of slowing the actual pace of the original story, though a skilful inclusion can act as a catalyst which improves the story's overall pace. In the forthcoming section of this chapter it shall be noted how two authors in particular, Kāşifī and Ahmed Midhat, have availed themselves of this possibility.

(4) Exclusion of entire tales or extended similes.

The deletion of a tale or simile, especially a lifeless and dull one, should result in a hastening of the pace of the narrative. The author who has dispensed with the most material is 'Osmānzāda, as will also be shown in a subsequent section of this chapter.

(5) Quotation of hadīth, lines from the Kur'ān, and poetry.

With the exception of al-Boḥārī and Ahmed Midhat, all the authors studied here make use of such quotation as shall be detailed in Section C of this chapter. Such inclusions inevitably have their effect upon pace, depending on their character.

B. ARRANGEMENT OF TALES

The sequence of tales in the various renderings of Kalīla wa-Dimna is in general determined less by the individual author than by the specific work upon which he bases his own version. As shall be seen, both Kāṣifī and 'Osmānzāda Tā'ib work major changes in the text - albeit with completely different purposes in mind - while several other authors make more minor ones, but in all but one of these instances the alterations are carried out in the 'spirit' of the work and so, in a sense, are not really important. (For convenience, Appendix B to this thesis contains a cross-index to tales in the various editions.)

In most of the versions of Kalīla wa-Dimna the ordering of

the chapters and tales is approximately the same. At the chapter level there is general agreement among Arabic manuscripts about the sequence for the major portion of the book, that is, for the first eight or nine of the seventeen chapters; some disagreement exists, however, about the arrangement of the final chapters, which occupy a much smaller proportion of the book than the earlier ones. Such variations are possible because the only thread binding the chapters (other than the bāb of the Lion and the Bull and the bāb of the Investigation of Dimna's Conduct) is the initial questioning in each chapter of Bīdpāy by Dābṣalīm about a moral point, and the philosopher's eventual reply. Such chapters can easily be shuffled about with no loss of continuity.

It would seem that the ordering of chapters in the Persian versions is largely determined by the particular Arabic rendering upon which they are directly or indirectly based. Thus chapters in the latter portion of al-Boḥārī's translation are in a different sequence from those in Naṣrollāh's, whereas Kāṣifī, Abū Faḏl and all the Turkish authors except 'Osmānzāda derive the ordering of their versions from the Kalīla va Dimna-yi Bahrāmshāhī and so their arrangement of chapters generally agrees with that of Naṣrollāh.

Within each chapter there is almost total agreement among versions about which tales to include and in what order - again ignoring 'Osmānzāda for the moment - so that no matter where in the book a chapter lies, it probably contains the same tales in the same order as the equivalent chapter in another version. There are exceptions, however, and they are as follows:

(1) Kāṣifī has considerably expanded most of the chapters through the inclusion of numerous tales not previously found in versions of Kalīla wa-Dimna. These additional fables Kāṣifī merely sandwiches between existing stories so that no material is lost, but in a manner which necessitates some alteration to the frame story so as to allow for smooth transition. Abū Faḏl, 'Alī Çelebi, 'Osmānzāda and Ahmed Midḥat have for the most part accepted these additions; indeed, from this group it was probably only Abū Faḏl who even realized that the tales in question originate with Kāṣifī, for there is no evidence that any of the other writers had a copy of Naṣrollāh or Ibn Mukaffa' to use for comparison.

(2) 'Osmānzāda totally restructures the Hümāyūn-nāma in his Semār ül-Esmār in such a way that the entire system of 'tales within tales' is sacrificed and replaced with what may be termed an anthology of unrelated fables interspersed with moral commentary. By so doing, 'Osmānzāda completely destroys the once unique format of Kalīla wa-Dimna and robs it of its whole being.

'Osmānzāda's method is first to supply an introduction, then to recount all the frame stories (including that of Kalīla, Dimna, Şanzaba and the Lion) in the order of the chapters in 'Alī's text and in words largely culled from the same source. This portion occupies about half of the work. The second half consists of a rapid recitation of forty of the secondary stories from most of the chapters and again is for the most part in 'Alī's words.

Clearly, of all the modifications in arrangements of tales



carried out by these authors, this action by 'Osmānzāda is the most far-reaching and the most disastrous, for in his attempt to enliven the work and make it a more viable base for moral education he has deprived it of its greatest charm, the ability (or obligation) of one character to say to another words to the effect of "Your plight reminds me of that of the lion in the tale of the ..." There can be little wonder that 'Osmānzāda's Semār ūl-Esmār never achieved great popularity.

(3) Ahmed Midhat, too, appends several short and entertaining tales (bearing such titles as 'Misyoner ve Berhemen', 'Kimyāger', 'Tilki ve Düşmenleri' and 'Kurt ile Kuzular') to existing chapters, much as Nasrollāh does but not as frequently. As these new tales, too, are in the 'spirit' of the work they may be deemed acceptable additions. Most of Midhat's stories are also to be found in Salāhaddin Alpay's 1972 modernization of the Hulāsa-yı Hümāyūn-nāma.

(4) In the chapter of the King and the Bird Fanza, Nasrollāh introduces a fairly short tale in verse about a woman named Zāl and her daughter Mahsitī (N3). This fable is not Nasrollāh's own, however, but is borrowed from Sanā'ī's Hadīkatu'l-Hakīka and it may have been a memory of this which prompted Vassāf to criticize Nasrollāh for a tendency to plagiarize.<sup>(1)</sup> Kāşifī accepts this story, but expands it somewhat and puts most of it into prose.

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(1) Vassāf, p.629.

(5) Editions of this work are not written without bowdlerizations. The Sādir Arabic edition of Kalīla wa-Dimna, an 1876 Arabic edition published by the Dominican Fathers of Mosul, and Karīb's first edition (NasA) of the Kalīla va Dimna-vi Bahrāmshāhī are particularly prone to substitution of more subdued tales for those which might be considered risqué. In the case of Sādir, such substitution (or selection of a suitable manuscript) is perhaps understandable as it was always meant to be a school text, but it is strange that Karīb apparently expurgates his first edition and leaves his later editions alone. It is conceivable, though unlikely, that different manuscripts are to blame.

(6) Some stories are inexplicably missing from several versions. An example is G5 in the cross-index, which concerns a man fleeing from a wolf. This tale is found in the Arabic editions of 'Azzām, Sylvestre de Sacy and Sādir, but not in Cheikho or any of the extant Persian versions.

#### C. INCLUSION OF EXTERNAL ELEMENTS

Listed among those stylistic features affecting narrative pace is the inclusion of what may be termed 'external elements' within the text. Such features as the insertion of poetry, quotations from or allusions to the Kur'ān or hadīth, and the incorporation of proverbs are generally considered to be among those external elements which can have an enormous influence on

the reading of a text. Because a phrase, sentence or poem of this nature is either familiar to a reader or seems as though it ought to be, their skilful inclusion, unless carried to excess, serves to ease the pace and lighten what may otherwise be a dragging passage. They are, in a sense, like recurring themes in a symphony heard for the first time, for those themes rapidly become familiar, offer a sense of security in entirely new passages and act to unify the whole.

Historically, this collection of animal fables has played an important role in Islamic literatures with regard to the entire concept of incorporating a wide range of external elements; although other authors had previously made use of this device to support specific points being argued, Maliko 's-So'arā Bahār notes that Naṣrollāh was the first to adorn his prose with 'arguments' ('mostadallāt') from poetry, the Kur'ān, hadīth and proverbs, for purely aesthetic reasons. Other writers, however, were quick to follow Naṣrollāh's lead.<sup>(1)</sup>

#### Inclusion of poetry.

Among the Persian and Turkish authors studied in this thesis, all but al-Boḥārī and Ahmed Midhat incorporate poetry into their prose. As Ibn Mukaffa' had not done so, it may not have occurred to al-Boḥārī that it was an option open to him; all of the others, who were influenced directly or indirectly by Naṣrollāh, probably could not have conceived of Kalīla wa-Dimna in any other form but poetically adorned - at least until the time of Ahmed Midhat.

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(1) Bahār, Sabk. II, 270.

Nasrollāh makes wide-ranging use of poetry in his Kalīla va Dimna-yi Bahrāmsāhī through the inclusion of both Arabic and Persian verses, some of which are apparently original though many others are obviously borrowed from earlier poets. His propensity for incorporating the verse of others has long been recognized and has been a source of dismay to at least one of his readers. The latter was Vassāf, who was quoted earlier in this thesis and who likened his own feelings towards Nasrollāh to those of Abū 'l-Farac Rūnī towards Mas'ūd-i Sa'd-i Salmān when Abū 'l-Farac wrote that he knew of an individual of very high repute who had been credited with the composition of two dīvāns, and that although his own (i.e. Abū 'l-Farac's) verse might contain certain grammatical errors, at least he had written it himself.<sup>(1)</sup>

On the other hand, the opinion that Nasrollāh is deserving of censure for his various borrowings is not a universal one, for there exist at least two manuscript versions of a work completed less than one century after the composition of the Kalīla va Dimna-yi Bahrāmsāhī by one Faẓlollāh b. 'Osmān b. Mohammad al-Asfizārī and entitled Tarcoma-yi Abyāt-i Kalīla va Dimna or Ṣarḥ-i As'ār-i Kalīla.<sup>(2)</sup> In this study, Asfizārī both

(1) Vassaf, p.629. The printed text mistakenly writes Abū 'l-Farac's lakab as Rūmī.

(2) The first of the manuscripts is in the British Library (Add.5965) and is described by Rieu in his Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum, p.746. The remaining copy is to be found in the Maclis Library of Tehran and is discussed by Hasan Hasanẓāda Āmolī in the introduction to his edition of Kalīla va Dimna (Tehrān, N.D.), pp.24-32.

translates the Arabic verses included in Nasrollāh's text and notes their probable origins, attributing individual bayts to such Arabic poets as al-Mutanabbī, Abū Tammām, Ibn Hallikān, Abū Hilāl 'Askarī, Sālih b. 'Abdu 'l-Kuddus and Abū 'l-'Alā' 'l-Ma'arri, to name but a few. Although Asfizārī, who does not deal with Persian verse, has ample opportunity in which to criticize Nasrollāh for the inclusion of the fruits of other people's labours without giving them due credit, he does not do so much as hint that Nasrollāh's actions deserve condemnation. It may indeed be the case that Nasrollāh felt that the borrowed poetry he included was widely enough known that no introduction - which would in any case have been stylistically awkward - was necessary.

Hasan Hasanzāda Āmolī has recorded in the introduction and footnotes to his edition of Kalīla va Dimna the results of his extensive research into the Arabic and Persian verse which Nasrollāh includes and, with the aid of Asfizārī's work, has succeeded in ascribing much of the verse.<sup>(1)</sup> He notes that among the Persians who are anonymously honoured by Nasrollāh are Sanā'ī, Mohtārī Gaznavī and, coincidentally, both Abū 'l-Farac Rūnī and Mas'ūd-i Sa'd-i Salmān. Sanā'ī, it may be recalled, is the author of a versified tale of a woman named Zāl and her daughter Mahsitī, a story which Nasrollāh includes almost in its entirety in the chapter of the King and the Bird Fanza. Of all the editions of the Kalīla va Dimna-yi Bahrāmsāhī, it is only that of Āmolī in which Nasrollāh is recorded as giving credit to

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(1) Op. cit., pp.10 and 12-32 in introduction, also in footnotes throughout the text.

Sanā'ī within the text for the composition of this tale.<sup>(1)</sup>

Even if such matching of the efforts of earlier poets with work included by Nasrollāh were impossible, there are other indications that the poetry in question was not written expressly for this text. Chief among these is the fact that the incorporated verse has little or no direct connection with the plot of the tale in which it is placed. More specifically, in a passage concerning, for example, the lush setting for a story, Nasrollāh can be expected to insert a line or two of Persian or Arabic verse which, in fact, could describe virtually any ideally luxurious and verdant location and would thus be suitable for almost any of the stories in the work, for there are no slums in Kalīla va Dimna. Such is the case in the tale of the Hare and the Lion, in the introduction to which Nasrollāh includes both an Arabic verse (which Āmolī attributes to A'sā<sup>(2)</sup>) and a Persian one of indeterminate authorship. After a prose description of the setting and its breezes, fragrances, illumination and star-like blossoms, the two poems are presented together with no intervening material thus:

Yudāhiku 's-samsa min-hā kaukabun šarikun  
Mu'azzarun bi-'amīmi 'n-nabti muktahilū.  
 Saḥāb, gū'ī, yākūt rīht bar mīnā,  
 Nasīm, gū'ī, šingarf biht bar zangār;  
 Boḥār-i ʕašm-i havā vo baḥūr-i rū-yi zamīn  
 Zi-ʕašm-i dāya-yi bāğ ast o rū-yi baḥḥa-yi ḥār.

(NasM 86/8-10)

(1) Op. cit., p.383.

(2) Op. cit., p.126.

The above two verses describe the idealized beauty of buds and blooms and of mists and vapours, but in such a way that the description could apply equally well to almost any lush region in the world. Because both verses develop points made in the passage preceding the poetry, however, one might postulate that those aspects which Nasrollāh chooses to emphasize in his prose sections are to some extent determined by the nature of the verse which he had in mind at the time of writing. In this sense, then, the verse may play a more important role in influencing the direction of composition than it might at first appear. Beyond this possible stimulus, however, the verse which Nasrollāh incorporates never imparts information vital to the narrative nor does it describe specifics, this holding true whether it is Arabic or Persian and whether it describes people, places or circumstances.

From a narrowly informational point of view, therefore, it might be argued that the verse included by Nasrollāh serves no function other than the mere filling out of the text. The opposite view, that the poetry plays several vital roles in the work, may also be argued, and with greater force. Firstly, the poem itself should afford pleasure, regardless of its content. Secondly, a poem can, as shown above, play upon certain aspects of preceding prose passages, thereby emphasizing them and also heightening the moods or feelings. Finally, almost any break or change of form in a long narrative serves to lighten the pace and rescue the text from potential monotony, this being true for a reader as well as for a listener. To the reader, the poetry offers a visual interstice in the text which signals a



caesura and a shift in grammar, as well as a change from long and perhaps rambling sentences to a short, fixed syntactical unit. For the listener, in addition to much of this the advent of a piece of verse is often signalled by a change in the reader's tone of voice, and perhaps also his accent, and leads to a moment of more grandiloquent reading.

The distribution of verse in the Kalīla va Dimna-yi Bahrāmshāhī is, on the other hand, very uneven, so that some pages are liberally sprinkled with poetry while others have none. Arabic and Persian verses, furthermore, are frequently placed end to end (as in the tale of the Hare and the Lion) or with only a tiny amount of prose intervening, and the resultant block of non-specific verse somewhat hinders the progress of the narrative.

By the time Kāşifī began composing his own version of Kalīla va Dimna, three and a half centuries had elapsed since the completion of the Kalīla va Dimna-yi Bahrāmshāhī and the device of poetic inclusion pioneered by Naşrollāh had long been accepted practice in Persian narrative prose; it would have been inconceivable that Kāşifī should have done anything but increase the amount of verse in his modernization of the work. In setting about this task, Kāşifī would immediately perceive that, for a variety of reasons, the verse of his predecessor would be acceptable neither to himself nor to his readers. Firstly, Naşrollāh's Arabic verse would have been beyond the ability of many of the new readers and would therefore have considerably dulled the pace of the new version. Secondly, perhaps noticing that Naşrollāh's largely appropriated verse frequently was not



employed at the most effective points in the narrative, Kāṣifī may have felt that specially-composed verse could be used to much greater purpose. Thirdly, the large-scale borrowing of poetry from others without giving due credit may have been a practice which did not meet with Kāṣifī's approval. Lastly, and probably most importantly, it is quite likely that Kāṣifī desired an opportunity to display his own poetic craftsmanship and felt that this collection of fables would provide an excellent platform.

In spite of the fact that he includes thousands of lines of verse in the Anvār-i Sohaylī, the charge of plagiarism has never, as far as is known, been levelled against Kāṣifī. It would seem that on the relatively few occasions that he incorporates the poetry of others he gives them credit, as in this excerpt from the first pages of the chapter of the Lion and the Bull:

...ḡonān-ki pīr-i ma'navī dar Kitāb-i Maṣnavī  
farmūda: (bayt)

Māl-rā gar bahr-i dīn bāṣī hamūl  
Ni'ma mālun sālīhun goft-aṣ Rasūl.

(Kas 63/5-6)

Although the same universality of application of the verses of the Kalīla va Dimna-yi Bahrāmshāhī is to be found among some of the Persian verses of the Anvār-i Sohaylī, most of Kāṣifī's poetry is written expressly for the prose passage in which it appears. Such verse, therefore, performs all the functions of Nasrollāh's poetry discussed earlier but also serves to lend emphasis to various points already made in the narrative and to

prepare the way for further topics or modes of description. Such is the case in the following passage where the Lion-King is assuring the newly-arrived Şanzaba of his protection and good faith:

Şîr farmūd ki: Ham incā makām kon tā az  
şafakat-o-ikrām va marhamat-o-in'ām-i mā  
nasībī tamām yābī, ki abvāb-i 'ātifāt bar  
rū-yi mocāvirān-i diyār-i h<sup>v</sup>ad goşūda-īm va  
mā'ida-yi por-fā'ida-yi ri'āyat barā-yi  
molāzimān-i āstān-i h<sup>v</sup>ad kaşīda. (Nazm)  
~~Dar-īn mamlakat gar ba-gardī basī,~~  
Zi-mā dar şikāyat na bīnī kasī;  
Dar avval ba-kārī ki niyyat konam,  
Nazar dar şalāh-i ra'īyyat konam.  
Gāv vazīfa-yi do'ā-vo-sanā ba-takdīm rasānīda,  
kamar-i hīdmat ba-tau'-vo-rağbat bar miyān  
bast. Va şîr nîz ū-rā rotba-yi takarrob  
arzānī dāšta, rûz ba-rûz ba-h<sup>v</sup>ad nazdīk  
mī-gardānīd va dar i'zāz-o-ihtirām-i ū  
mobālağa-vo-itnāb mī-nomūd; va dar zamn-i ān  
rûy ba-tafahhoş-i hāl-o-tahkīk-i kār āvarda,  
andāza-yi ra'y-o-hīrad va mikdār-i tanyīz-o-  
tacriba-yi ū ba-şināht. Şahsī dīd ba-kamāl-i  
kayāsat ma'rūf, ba-fahm-o-firāsat mausūf; har  
çand ahlāk-i ū-rā bīş-tar āzmūd i'timād-aş  
bar vofūr-i dāniş-i ū ziyāda gaşt. (Nazm)  
Nikū-sīrat-aş dīd o rauşan-kiyas,  
Soḥan-sanc-o-mikdār-i mardom-şinās,

Cahān-dīda-vo-dāniṣ-āmūhta,  
Safar-karda-vo-ṣohbat-andūhta.

(Kas 90/20-91/9)

In this passage the poetry forms an integral part of the narrative with the verse further developing ideas and trains of thought found in the preceding prose. Each of the two sets of verse continues a theme, the first proclaiming in the lion's words Šanzaba's safety and freedom within the kingdom, and the second describing those fine qualities which the lion observed, and would eventually come to respect, in the bull. Thus not only does the verse carry on the thought of the preceding prose, but it maintains the tenor of the passage, for the subject remains the same and the verbs do not vary their tense, mood or number. In this manner Kāšifī has bound his poetry to the text to a much greater degree than Nasrollāh could achieve with borrowed verse.

Another example of Kāšifī's integration of poetry into the narrative is the following description of a sparrow-hawk:

Bar sar-i kūhī ... bāṣa'ī maḳām dāšt ki dar  
vaḳt-i ṣayd kardan ġun bark az ġuṣa bīrūn  
castī va ṣā'ika-vār ḥirmān-i cān-i morġān-i  
za'īf-bāl-rā pāk ba-sūhtī. (Bayt)

Gahī k-ū panca bar morġān goṣūdī  
Agar pancāh būdī, dar-robūdī.

(Kas 98/18-21)

In this passage, too, the poetry is in the same mood and to some extent in the same style as the prose, giving information

specific to a sparrow-hawk in the singular and not describing almost any predator as one would expect of Naṣrollāh's verse. In addition, Kāṣifī here includes a pun on the words 'claw' (panca) and 'fifty' (pancāh), a play which adds to the reader's overall enjoyment of the text.

At times, Kāṣifī uses the poetic device to repeat and stress sentiments already expressed in the prose, as in the following excerpt from a passage in which Dimna admonishes Şanzaba about the alleged dangers surrounding his continued friendship with the lion-king:

'Arz az īrād-i īn afsāna ān-ast, ki hīç  
doşman-rā agar-çi ba-ğāyat ḥakīr bāşad ḥ<sup>v</sup>ār  
na-bāyad dāşt, ki az sūzan-i ḥ<sup>v</sup>ord kāmāt-i  
kāri āyad ki nīza-yi darāz-kad dar ān 'āciz  
ba-mānad; va cozva-yi ātiş agar-çi dar nazar  
andak nomāyad har çi bā vay molākī gardad  
ba-sūzad. Va ḥokamā gofta-and ki dūstī-yi  
hazār tan dar mokābala-yi doşmanī-yi yak şahş  
nay-āyad. (Bayt)

Dūstī-rā hazār şahş kam ast;  
Doşmanī-rā yakī bovad bisyār.

(Kas 146/3-8)

Although there is probably no way of knowing whether this bayt is original to Kāṣifī, it nonetheless lends excellent emphasis to Dimna's theme by means of repetition.

For a study of Kāṣifī's incorporation of verse in the Anvār-i Sohaylī, an instructive tale is that of the Gardener's

friendship with the Bear (G29), a tale not found in any version of Kalīla wa-Dimna preceding that of Kāṣifī. There is clear evidence in this story that for Kāṣifī it was the prose which suggested the topics for the verse, in contrast with Nasrollāh's rendering in which the prose often seems to have been inspired by the available verse. This short fable begins with elaborate descriptions of the various fruits to be found in the garden — which is the setting for the tale; many of these are described singly, first in prose then in verse, and the following passage enumerates the glories of the quince:

Va bih-i paṣmīna-pūš cūn sūfiyān-i ṣab-hīz bā  
roḥsāra-yi zard sar az pancara-yi ḥanakāh-i  
ibdā' bīrūn-āvarda va rū-yi gard-ālūd-aš dil-i  
dard-ālūd-i 'āṣikān-rā az mihr-i māh va ṣa'n  
intibāh-dāda. (Bayt)

Bih zard zi-mihr ast o man az mihr-am zard;

Ū az mah-o-mihr o man zi-mihr-i mah-i ḥ<sup>v</sup>īṣ.

(Kas 160/13-16)

After so describing the various fruits in the garden, Kāṣifī notes in the following manner that the gardener had devoted so much of his life to the care and maintenance of the garden that he remained absolutely friendless in his old age:

Pīr-i dihkān-rā ba-har diraḥtī ḡandān payvand  
būd ki barg-i pidar-o-ḡam-i farzand na-dāšt  
va rūzgārī ba tanhā'ī dar ān bāḡ mī-goẓarānīd.  
Hāṣilo 'l-amr az vaḥṣat-i tanhā'ī ba tang  
āmad va az dahṣat-i infirād-o-bī-yārī ba-ḡāyat

malūl şod. (Mişrā')

Gol-o-bonafşa hama hast o yār nīst, çi sūd?

(Kas 161/7-10)

Kāşifī continues the tale by relating how the gardener formed a strong, but eventually disastrous, friendship with a bear. Throughout the story, poetry is summoned to reinforce and illuminate the points raised in the prose sections and is presented in such quantities and with such aptness that it is almost inconceivable that Kāşifī could have appropriated the verse of others.

Because Kāşifī is the author of both prose and verse sections of the Anvār-i Sohaylī, he retained a much greater degree of freedom than did Naşrollāh, who was apparently obliged on many occasions to gear his prose to the verse available to him. As far as the reader is concerned, however, the functions of the poetry in both texts are the same, those functions being to reinforce and perhaps clarify the prose, and to offer a simple change of pace. It is a measure of Kāşifī's genius that he accomplished this task so effectively.

A further difference between these two Persian versions is that where Naşrollāh includes a great many Arabic verses, the Anvār-i Sohaylī contains virtually none, in keeping with Kāşifī's apparent design of avoiding all but the simplest Arabic constructions.

Through the amount of verse it employs, the 'Ivār-i Dānis of Abū Fazl again indicates how much it reduces the quantity of Kāşifī's more complex rhetorical features, for in his version

Abū Fazl chooses to retain only a small number of his predecessor's verses and introduces but a few lines of his own. Because his prose is generally far less complex than Kāṣifī's, it does not demand the same high degree of concentration from readers; as a consequence, the 'Iyār-i Dāniş' does not require the same amount of poetic 'relief' that the Anvār-i Sohaylī does and might even be destroyed by the inclusion of large quantities of verse which could only dilute an already thin text.

Among the Turkish versions, Kul Mes'ūd's rendering incorporates much less verse than does Naṣrollāh's, although much of what he does include is clearly inspired by the earlier Persian text. By far the greatest proportion of Mes'ūd's poetry is in Turkish, but the occasional line of Persian or Arabic is to be found in the text. In keeping with Kul Mes'ūd's apparent intention of lowering the esoteric level of the work, many of the ideas expressed in Naṣrollāh's verse undergo considerable simplification in their Turkish translation. The following Turkish poem, for example, is quite remote from Naṣrollāh's original two bayts:

Ma-ngar tū ba-dān ki zū-fonūn āyad mard,

Dar 'ahd nigāh kon ki çūn āyad mard.

Az 'ohda-yi 'ahd agar birūn āyad mard,

Az har çī gomān barī fozūn āyad mard.

(NasA 148/8-9)<sup>(1)</sup>

Ol kişi kim gendü kavlını sıya,

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(1) Only NasA supplies the first bayt. Other editions give the second bayt alone.

Ādemiler anı hayvāndan saya.

(Kul 33/15-16)

Here the Turkish version carries essentially the same message as the Persian, only in a more concise and earthy manner.

The following passage from Naṣrollāh's tale of the Treacherous Heron, in which the conniving fowl is finally defeated by a crab, contains two verses, one Arabic and the other Persian, which together inspire two bayts in the Turkish:

Wa-inna hayāta 'l-mar'i ba'da 'adūwih

Wa-in kāna yauman wāhidan la-katīrun

Damī āb-<sup>h</sup>ordan pas az bad-sigāl

Bih az 'omr-i haftād-o-haštād sāl.

(NasA 123/1-2; NasK 88/8-9)<sup>(1)</sup>

Cümle halka işbu ölüm hak durur

Dost düşman olası mutlak durur.

Düşmanından sonra erün dırligi

Bir günise, dağı ol gec çokdurur.

(Kul 22/3-6)

The manner in which Mes'ūd has dealt with verse from the Persian text in the two examples above is representative of the way he reworks much of the poetry which he elects to retain in

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(1) Mīnovī (NasM 85/9-10) gives the Persian bayt thus:

Marā şarbatī az pas-i bad-sigāl,

Bovad hūş-tar az 'omr-i haftād sāl.



his rendering. Most frequently the Persian or Arabic verse acts solely as a rough guide to the theme of the resultant Turkish verse. If Mes'ūd is indeed the author of the Turkish poetry in his rendering - as it would seem that he is - it is interesting that the surrounding prose had only marginally more influence on his verse than it did on Nasrollāh's. Mes'ūd had as much opportunity as Kāşifī did to bring the verse into closer union with the narrative, yet he took little advantage of it and seemed to find greater inspiration in Nasrollāh's verse. A partial reason for this might be that Mes'ūd was too much aware of working in the shadow of a revered master, but this explanation weakens in the face of the first of the above two examples.

'Alī Çelebi, as is his wont when working with other aspects of the text, generally expands the amount of verse found in the Anvār-i Sohaylī. Usually 'Alī adopts Kāşifī's verse exactly as he receives it, but frequently translates the Persian into Turkish or even writes an entirely new Turkish verse only loosely based upon the earlier text. It is also quite usual for him to insert new poetry, either Persian or Turkish, where Kāşifī has none.

De Sacy offers the following explanation for 'Alī's mode of work:

La plupart des poésies Persanes dont Hosain  
Vaëz a embelli l'Anvari Sohaili se retrouvent  
dans le Homayoun-namèh. Assez souvent néanmoins  
le traducteur Turc a supprimé les vers Persans  
dont le sens a quelque obscurité, et il y a  
substitué des vers Turcs. Le changements et  
les suppressions qu'il a faits, donnent en

général, sauf un petit nombre d'exceptions, une bonne idée de son gout, et il étoit digne assurément de traduire un écrivain tel que Hosain.<sup>(1)</sup>

In this observation about the relationship between the verse of the two works de Sacy is largely correct, although one might dispute his opinion that 'Alī substituted Turkish verse because the sense of the Persian was unclear. The differences in clarity between these corresponding Persian and Turkish bayts, for example, is not great:

Ammā zi-Hodā omīd-vār-am k-ū-rā

Dar ʕang-i tū bīnam ba-morād-i dil-i h<sup>v</sup>īš.

(Kas 112/10)

Hūdādan umaram kim nāgehānī

Murādamca görem penceñde anı.

(Ali 167/13-14)

Be this as it may, the function of poetry in the Humāyūn-nāma is exactly that of the Anvār-i Sohaylī, in that a simple line of verse in such elaborate works can act as an excellent, yet germane, diversion from the complexities of the prose. Like Kāşifī, 'Alī uses poetry to support his points and to lend emphasis to his statements. Frequently he inserts verse in passages where Kāşifī had only prose, as in the following

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(1) Syl, Mémoire Historique, p.51.

excerpt:

Soḥanī ki az dahān va tīrī ki az kamān bīrūn  
āmad, na ān ba-dast āyad va na īn ba-ṣast.

(Kas 122/21-22)

'Alī translates this elaborately patterned sentence in the same tenor, then appends his own verse:

Bir kelām ki dehāndan ve bir tīr ki kemāndan  
çika, ne ol deste gelir ve ne bu ṣeste.  
(Meṣnevī)

Çün ağızdan çika söz, dönmez ayruk,  
Girü döner mi yadan atılan ok?

Kafesden mürğ-ı vahşī k-ide pervāz,  
Tutulmaz eylesen biñ hīle āḡāz.

(Ali 180/15-18)

Such an addition to the text is entirely in keeping with the manner in which Kāṣifī employs verse in the Anvār-ı Soḥaylī and, equally, is representative of the poetic additions which 'Alī makes in his Hümāyūn-nāma. 'Alī's prose translation in the above passage, however, is not among his most imaginative.

'Alī Çelebi does offer occasional surprises to anyone comparing his rendering with Kāṣifī's, and an example is to be found on pages 229-232 of the Hümāyūn-nāma in the tale of the Gardener's Friendship with the Bear, which has recently been discussed. The surprise in this instance is one of omission rather than commission, for in contrast with Kāṣifī's liberal

incorporation of poetry in this story, 'Alī is so restrained that he omits most of the verse. More specifically, where Kāşifī supplements with poetry his descriptions of the varieties of fruit which grow in the garden, 'Alī includes no verse at all and only in the case of one fruit (the orange) does he give even a brief prose synopsis of what the Persian verse contains. It is only half way through the tale that 'Alī begins to include poetry, beginning with Kāşifī's misrā':

Gol-o-bonafşa hama hast o yār nīst, çi sūd?

(Kas 161/10; Ali 230/25-231/1)

From this point in the tale, 'Alī begins to include most of Kāşifī's poetry although he adds none of his own and, in one instance, gives only one bayt of a five-bayt masnavī found in the Anvār-i Sohaylī (Ali 231/10-11; Kas 161/16-20). The effect of these omissions is by no means disastrous, but merely results in a slight imbalance in the tale.

With the exception of such infrequent and insignificant occurrences, 'Alī employs poetry as a rhetorical feature in the same manner that Kāşifī does, only more intensely. The Turkish author's tendency is toward elaboration and expansion of the Anvār-i Sohaylī whenever practical (if such a word may be applied to literature of this sort) and avoidance of Arabic poetry.

Neither 'Osmānzāda nor Ahmed Midhat figures largely in this discussion of poetic inclusion, since the former deletes the overwhelming majority of 'Alī's verses and only occasionally brings in a new poem, while the latter excludes all poetry from

his Hulāṣa-yī Hūmāyūn-nāma. It seems likely that many, if not all, of 'Osmānzāda's 'new' poems find their origin in the material deleted from the Hūmāyūn-nāma, although only a thorough indexing of all the verse in 'Alī's text could show this for certain.

Inclusion of passages from the Kur'ān and hadīth.

Quotation from the Kur'ān and from hadīth can fulfil most of the functions of poetry, but simultaneously performs the additional office of furnishing religious authority for moral points being made and giving the entire work a greater credibility. In this way the potentially frivolous-seeming collection of animal tales is rendered immediately more acceptable in the eyes of the religious community and given a kind of legitimacy which it would otherwise lack. Such inclusions, moreover, come as second nature to a pious writer whose entire cultural experience is bound up in religious literature and institutions.

In Persian and Turkish versions of Kalīla wa-Dimna the widest incorporation of such quotations is made, as one might expect, by Naṣrollāh, Kāṣifī and 'Alī Çelebi; at the opposite end of the scale is Ahmed Midhat who, again not surprisingly, includes none at all.

Mohammad al-Boḥārī's rendering of the fables contains only minute quantities of such material, strictly circumspect in its uses. Most of al-Boḥārī's chapters terminate on a briefly religious note, with the concluding words of several being inṣa'llāh ta'ālī. Some chapters end rather more elaborately, however, with

Inna-hu 'alā kulli ṣay'in kadīrun.

or

Wa-'llāhu 'l-motammamu yumna-hu.

(Zan 14a/2)

The first of these formulae is to be found exactly reproduced three times in the Kur'ān (22:6; 41:39; 46:33) and in closely variant forms thirty times, while the latter formula is probably from hadīth.

At one point in his text, al-Boḥārī instructs readers in the use of Kalīla va Dimna, concluding:

Pas har kasī hikmat-i avval-i īn kitāb  
na-dānista ba-dīgarī ravad, ba-hama hāl  
ranc-i ū habā'an mansūran bāṣad.

(Zan 11b/18-19)

Although the grammatical case of the paired Arabic words in this passage does not exactly fit the Persian syntax, this very strangeness sets the words off sufficiently for one to recognize that this must be a reference to the Kur'ān. The suspicion is confirmed when one finds that 25:23 in the Kur'ān reads:

Wa-kadimunā ilā mā 'amilū min 'amalin  
fa-ca'alnā-hu habā'an mantūran.

With the exception of the standard formulae following the mention of a respected person's name, this is the entire extent of al-Boḥārī's religious quotation in Arabic. At several points in the text he quotes the 'paygāmbarān' or the 'nabīyān' in Persian, but this is done in exactly the style and tone in which

he gives proverbs spoken by the 'bozorgān' or the 'hokamā' and, as such, may be dismissed.

Nasrollāh, Kāşifī, 'Alī Çelebi and, to a lesser extent, Kul Mes'ūd, make much greater use of this device, with Nasrollāh including more religious material than any of the others. This is entirely in keeping with his apparent expectation of a high standard of competence in Arabic among his readers, for he presents a large number of quotations from the more obscure hadīth, fully confident that all would be understood. Neither Kul Mes'ūd nor Kāşifī, on the other hand, dared make such an assumption, so they include only quotations from the Kur'ān (which any Muslim could be expected to know) and the more familiar or more easily recognizable hadīth. Kul Mes'ūd, in fact, seems to ignore almost completely Nasrollāh's religious inclusions, offering instead material of his own choosing which he inserts with little regard for locations chosen by Nasrollāh.

Similarly, both Kāşifī and 'Alī Çelebi ignore the quotations from the Kur'ān and hadīth employed by Nasrollāh. Instead, Kāşifī selects his own passages - mostly kur'ānic - which he places at much less frequent intervals in the text. 'Alī Çelebi generally follows Kāşifī's lead in this and only rarely introduces new material. Because the amount and length of such quotation in the Anvār-i Sohaylī and the Hümāyūn-nāma is less, there seems to be better integration into the text than Nasrollāh was able to achieve and as a result a greater feeling of aptness.

Both Abū Fażl and 'Osmānzāda further reduce the number of religious quotations, adding virtually none of their own. Although this is not surprising in the case of the former, one would expect

'Osmānzāda, whose aim is to stress the moral values to be gleaned from the collection of fables, to stress the religious aspects of the text. It is probable that he recognized that only a small percentage of his readers would be able to cope with much Arabic.

In the general scheme of any of these renderings, religious quotations really have only a minor role to play and are far outbalanced by the amount and importance of verse.

Inclusion of proverbs and aphorisms.

In a sense, aphorisms and proverbs are an integral part of Kalīla wa-Dimna for almost all of the tales are homilies based upon extended and elaborated aphorisms. At another level, however, they are short, concise statements of folk-wisdom and as such can be rhetorical devices having exactly the same functions in the text as verse and, to a lesser extent, religious quotation. Whether ancient or newly-composed, proverbs and aphorisms must present encapsulated wisdom in a form which sounds as though it has been in active circulation for centuries.

As was noted in the earlier section on sac and parallelism, it is in the field of proverbs that al-Boḥārī comes into his own, for his employment of such 'quotations' serves exactly the same function that poetry does for other authors. The Zangid author liberally sprinkles his text with such aphorisms as:

'Iyāl-i ṣāyista-vo-pārsā har dū cahān-ast  
va ārāyiṣ-i dil-o-cān ast.

(Zan 83a/7)

Sangī kī borīdan na-tavān, bar vay ṣamsīr



āzmūdan ʃart nīst.

(Zan 45a/16-17)

Doşman agar-ʃi haķīr bovad, ma-dār; kī dar  
vay hīlatī-vo-ʃāra'ī bovad.

(Zan 41b/12)

Zar-rā ba-ātiş āzmūdan, va mardom-rā ba-sūziyān,  
va ʃahār-pāy-rā ba-bār-i girān; va zan-rā  
ba-hīç hāl na-tavān dānast.

(Zan 84a/3-4)

The effect of such aphorisms, when skilfully applied, is to lighten the text and ease the pace; in addition they can form an excellent introduction to new tales or furnish a transition during the course of the narrative. Al-Boḥārī occasionally includes gnomic passages which are so long and involved, however, that they more than counteract their own advantages.

Naşrollāh employs far fewer of these aphorisms than does al-Boḥārī, using instead poetry and religious inclusions to the same effect. Kāşifī includes more of them and puts many into verse; it was noted earlier in this thesis that he wrote:

Va hokamā gofta-and ki dūstī-yi hazār tan dar  
mokābala-yi doşmanī-yi yak ʃahş nay-āyad.

(Bayt)

Dūstī-rā hazār ʃahş kam ast;  
Doşmanī-rā yakī bovad bisyār.

(Kas 146/6-8)

Although it would seem that in this instance the verse was composed by Kāşifî, there is no way of being certain; a passage such as this, however, indicates how he thought of proverbs and poetry as being very close in both form and function.

'Alî Çelebi adopts most of Kāşifî's aphorisms, either directly in Persian or in translation into Turkish. Occasionally he introduces Kāşifî's proverbs in this manner:

Emsâl-ı 'Acemdendür: Her-çi be-zebân âmed  
be-ziyân âmed.

(Ali 180/18-19;  
Kas 122/22)

'Alî does also add his own aphorisms to the text, but the number of these is very limited.

In keeping with their treatment of all other non-original inclusions, Abū Fażl and 'Osmānzāda considerably reduce the number of proverbs, while Ahmed Midhat pares the remainder practically to nothing.

#### D. SPECIFIC COMPARISON OF VERSIONS

In this section we will be looking more closely at individual versions in roughly chronological order and comparing them with other renderings, most particularly their immediate predecessors. Because its complete transcription is included at the end of the thesis, numerous references will be made to the tale of the Hare and the Lion which was discussed in an earlier chapter.

Al-Boḥārī and Ibn Mukaffa'

The technique of al-Boḥārī is a simple one which differs from that of Ibn Mukaffa' more in degree than in basic style. Where Ibn Mukaffa' is satisfied, in his description of places, with noting that a lion lived in a lush land having an abundance of water and beasts, al-Boḥārī feels that more adjectives are required and thus regales his reader with:

... dar bīṣa-yi hūṣ-o-ḥorram va ābādān-i  
āb-ravān va sāya-yi dirāhtān-o-ṣafīr-i morḡān  
va 'alafī bī-andāza-vo - farāvān va vohūṣī  
bisyār.

(Zan 31b/11-12)

Here al-Boḥārī has made a point of adding details (albeit very general ones) in a series of rhymed and melodic attributes; a few lines later he again fills in details in the account of the meeting of the vohūṣ, in which the Arabic

Fa-'tamarna fī-mā bayna-hunna wa-atayna-hu  
fa-kulna la-hu...

(Az 66/10-11)

becomes

Ān dad-o-dām comla gird āmadand va tadbīrī  
ba-kardand va makrī ba-ṣināhtand va ba-yak  
cam' ittifāk kardand; va pīṣ-i ṣīr āmadand va  
bar vay sanā h<sup>v</sup>āndand va goftand...

(Zan 31b/14-15)

Again al-Boḥārī has furnished particulars not to be found in the Arabic (at least not in any of the published versions) and has created a greater feeling of tension and interest in the affairs of the animals.

As these passages are representative of a very high proportion of the two texts, it would seem that al-Boḥārī's general plan for the Arabic version which he translates is to elaborate it by means of multiplication and intensification, rather than by renovation and reorganization. Al-Boḥārī, furthermore, maintains in his version the overall impression of grammatical simplicity which one finds in the Arabic. The two versions are similar also in that they rely much more heavily upon direct quotation than indirect and that neither includes poetry, ḥadīth or quotations from the Kur'ān.

As has been noted earlier, al-Boḥārī often calls upon what are either established proverbs or lines of his own composed in the best style of aphorisms. Thus the words ...va gofta-and... or ...va bozorgān gofta-and... or ... va hokamā gofta-and... appear with a frequency which Ibn Muḳaffa' probably would not have appreciated. This invocation of folk-wisdom is another mark of the Zangid translation's nearness to oral style.

#### Nasrollāh and Ibn Muḳaffa'

The Kalīla va Dimna-yi Bahrāmshāhī immediately strikes the reader as a version much more complex than the Arabic, and this impression is borne out by a study of the tale of the Hare and

the Lion. From the outset of that story Nasrollāh elaborates almost all aspects of the Arabic; Ibn Mukaffa's simple description of the region, for example, becomes a series of balanced, rhymed clauses, followed by Arabic and then Persian verse - all of which is, of course, pleasurable to read or listen to, but at the same time acts to draw out the narrative. In addition, Nasrollāh delays the introduction of the tyrannical lion until after he has delineated the idyllic scene, thereby creating a degree of suspense and surprise early in the story.

Nasrollāh's frequent invocation throughout the text of lines of poetry in two languages contrasts with Ibn Mukaffa's reliance solely upon his own Arabic prose to communicate the story. At one point in his rendition, Nasrollāh even includes an entire versified story (borrowed from Sanā'ī) which he employs for the illustration of moral values in the same way he does stories 'original' to the collection.

Beyond the incorporation of poetry, Nasrollāh makes free use of Arabic sentences from a wide variety of sources, these normally being inserted in the text without introduction or explanation. Ibn Mukaffa, on the other hand, includes only material which has a direct bearing on the narrative and therefore produces a version which is far narrower in outlook and less challenging than Nasrollāh's Persian.

#### Nasrollāh and al-Bohārī

Although each is based directly upon Ibn Mukaffa's Arabic,

there are pronounced differences between the Persian translations of Nasrollāh and al-Boḥārī. The former work, clearly the result of inspired scholarship, merits all the praise which it has received over the years, for it is a work which is at the same time beautiful and intellectually challenging. The Zangid rendition, while often a joy to read, is not nearly as demanding of its readers since, with the exception of occasional vague references to passages in the Kur'ān, al-Boḥārī quotes nothing more taxing than the proverbs recently noted, and even these are usually thoroughly announced. In contrast, the Kalīla va Dimna-yi Bahrāmsāhī requires from its readers a degree of erudition, both because of the relatively lofty and difficult Arabic vocabulary it employs and because of the numerous references, quotations and allusions it contains, which Nasrollāh normally includes without preparing the reader.

Furthermore, the Chaznavid version makes much wider and more imaginative use of available sentence structures, in that Nasrollāh mixes complex sentences with compound and simple ones in such a way as to create variety in reading. While certainly employing all three of these sorts of sentence, al-Boḥārī tends to cluster them so that, especially in serious sections, one comes across seemingly vast pockets of complex sentences unrelieved by short or simple ones. When a story is being related, however, the almost conversational use of language causes the Zangid version to move much more rapidly than Nasrollāh's more ornate text.

As the product of a much greater talent and genius, Nasrollāh's version has had an influence upon Persian letters

much more far-reaching than a text such as al-Boḥārī's could hope to exert. The immediate fame and long-term popularity which the Ghaznavid work enjoyed enabled it to influence writers for many centuries and to be responsible for a broadening of Persian literary vocabulary, examples of which are given by Bahār.<sup>(1)</sup> One could hardly conceive of al-Boḥārī's rendition being so positive a force in the development of a language.

Kul Mes'ūd and Nasrollāh

Because literary Turkish was at a very low level of development in the middle of the fourteenth century A.D., it is almost inevitable that Kul Mes'ūd's Kelīle ve Dimne should be heavily dependent upon Nasrollāh's Persian work as a stylistic model. It was earlier demonstrated how similar Mes'ūd's word order is to that of the Persian original, even though this order largely conflicts with what must have been the accepted succession of sentence elements in the Turkish of that period.

While Kul Mes'ūd was, no doubt, a conscientious translator engaged in pioneering efforts in literary Turkish, he was nevertheless so dependent upon Nasrollāh's text that virtually every phrase of the Persian finds its equivalent in the Turkish version. There are cases, as in the initial lines of the tale of the Hare and the Lion, where Mes'ūd alters the content to some degree, but such instances are brief and are few in number.

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(1) Sabk, II, 262 -70.

It is apparent, moreover, that Mes'ūd did not expect that his readers would be well-versed in Persian or Arabic, for in almost all the numerous instances where Nasrollāh includes Persian verse or lines of Arabic, Mes'ūd either translates the passage into Turkish or deletes it altogether, the latter expedient being the more frequently used. In addition, Mes'ūd is often not as subtle in his references as is his Persian predecessor, which again implies that he expected a lower degree of sophistication among his readership.

If all other factors could be equal, the almost total lack of foreign poetry and prose in the Turkish version should act to hasten the narrative pace. The dominance of Persian word order nearly cancels out this prospect, however, because such non-Turkish arrangement of elements must lead to diminished clarity and, therefore, to retarded progress in the reading.

To translate anything into Turkish prose during the mid-fourteenth century A.D. certainly required much self-confidence in the translator, and this would be especially true of a work as highly esteemed as the Kalīla va Dimna-yi Bahrāmshāhī. Mes'ūd may have been intimidated by this vast respect for the work, for he does not display anything approaching that authority and control over the text so brilliantly exercised by 'Alī Çelebi two centuries later. It is probably due to Kul Mes'ūd's lack of independence and general unwillingness to create whole new passages that his translation of Kalīla wa-Dimna is largely forgotten today - and indeed, was probably unknown even to 'Alī Çelebi.



Kāṣifī and Naṣrollāh

The Anvār-i Sohaylī represents an intensification of many of the qualities found in the Kalīla va Dimna-yi Bahrāmsāhī, for Kāṣifī saw in the earlier work both an excellent foundation upon which to construct his own far more elaborate version and an invaluable example for further creativity. More specifically, Kāṣifī can be counted on to accept most of Naṣrollāh's imagery, but to expand and multiply it in a manner corresponding to the form in which the earlier author sets it out. Although to this extent his debt of gratitude to the Ghaznavid rendering is high, Kāṣifī transcended that text and created a work which is almost unequalled in Persian letters in its craft and invention.

The abundance of sac' and parallelism in the Anvār-i Sohaylī punctuates and clarifies Kāṣifī's prose to the extent that it invests him with the capacity, or even obligation, to weave the delicate and intricate verbal patterns which are so much in evidence on every page and make Naṣrollāh's version look plain by comparison. In filling out this newly-created structure, Kāṣifī does not merely transfer existing sentences to the new frame in such a way that what previously may have been two sentences, each containing two clauses, becomes a single four-claused sentence; instead he augments each sentence with new adjectives and adjectival phrases, additional imagery and fresh allusions, so that each of the original clause pairs becomes four, or six, well-balanced clauses united by a complex scheme of poetic or syntactical rhymes. In spite of this greater complexity which Kāṣifī gives the text, his astute use of both

sac and parallelism simultaneously systematizes the whole, thus achieving far greater clarity and precision while leaving less scope for unintentional ambiguity.

Kāṣifī obviously expects his readers to be well-versed in literature and religion, for his Anvār-i Sohaylī is replete with references and allusions to historical, mythical and religious figures and events, a knowledge of which is vital to a satisfactory comprehension and appreciation of the language and meaning of the work. In this regard, he is even more demanding of his readers than is Nasrollāh. In contrast, however, the general decline among Eastern Persians in their standard of erudition in the field of Arabic language and literature (by that time the art of Persian letters was burgeoning on its own) is reflected in Kāṣifī's sparing use of that language, for he deletes virtually all of Nasrollāh's Arabic material and substitutes either Persian verse and aphorisms or well-known verses from the Kur'ān and easily-translated Arabic proverbs. Furthermore, the Arabic vocabulary within Kāṣifī's Persian text, though wide-ranging, is not nearly as unconventional to literary Persian as is much of Nasrollāh's vocabulary. From these standpoints, therefore, the Anvār-i Sohaylī represents at the same time a simplification of its predecessor and a more complicated version.

In addition to the extra material contained in each tale, Kāṣifī enlists entire new stories to supplement those found in Nasrollāh. (The extent to which this occurs is clearly set out in the cross-index to tales in the appendix to this thesis.) The frame story frequently undergoes alteration in order to

accommodate these new tales and sometimes, as in the chapter of the Goldsmith and the Traveller (S), is modified even to the extent that the Anvār-i Sohaylī version only loosely resembles its 'original' in the Kalīla wa Dimna-yi Bahrāmshāhī. New tales, however, are of a style entirely appropriate to the overall work and in keeping with those which Kāṣifī inherited; in the view of a twentieth-century Western reader, the ingrafted stories are generally more entertaining and imaginative than the original material.

Furthermore, Kāṣifī dispenses with the introductory chapters found in Ibn Mukaffa' and Naṣrollāh, including the two chapters specifically by or about Borzūy, the semi-historical figure who reputedly brought from India the work which would later become Kalīla wa-Dimna. Gone, too, is the 'Alī b. Ṣāh preface found in several of the manuscripts of Ibn Mukaffa''s text and of Naṣrollāh's rendering. In place of all these chapters Kāṣifī composes his own personal introduction and launches into an entirely new and rather lengthy preface (which he calls chapter one) which concerns the mythical king Homāyūn Fāl and introduces Dābshalīm and Bīdpāy.

The effect of Kāṣifī's complete rewriting of the introductory section is to rationalize what was previously an amorphous collection of sometimes redundant or contradictory, and frequently tedious, material. Instead of being obliged to wade through a series of prefaces by almost as many authors, the reader of the Anvār-i Sohaylī is introduced to the traditions of Kalīla wa-Dimna in a manner and at a rate controlled entirely by Kāṣifī. As a result of this logical progression early in the

text, there is a much greater feeling of unity about the entire work instead of the inescapable impression given by the earlier versions that these fables and their opening passages have been collected from numerous sources by many people and frequently re-translated over a period of centuries.

One might well wonder how Kāṣifī could have been so bold and presumptuous as to bring about these drastic organizational alterations in the widely-accepted and highly-esteemed Kalīla va Dimna-yi Bahramšāhī. The answer probably lies in the fact that Kāṣifī was already an author and scholar of sufficient repute not to have been unduly distressed if critics should decry his innovation. For him the Anvār-i Sohaylī was but one, and by comparison a rather frivolous one, in the long list of his works on a variety of topics, almost all of which were scholarly. There probably would not have been many among his contemporaries, moreover, who would have been in a position to detect his alterations since, as Kāṣifī implies in his preface, few people of his age could any longer be interested in reading the somewhat outmoded Nasrollāh text. These two factors combined with Kāṣifī's apparently overwhelming self-confidence to make such changes in the text possible.

In company with this rationalization of the introductory chapters, Kāṣifī's universal application of sac' and parallelism results also in an entire restructuring and unification of the main body of the text. The nature of the verse, aphorisms and the like which he includes, moreover, supports this overall continuity and consistency in a way that Nasrollāh's wider-ranging incorporation of such textual supplements cannot match.

In this sense, Kāṣifī gives the entire work an overall homogeneity and stability which it had never before possessed, at least in Islamic languages.

The Anvār-i Sohaylī, furthermore, is organized in such a way as to bestow a certain aura of predictability, for once a multi-claused sentence has commenced, the reader subconsciously begins to calculate its rhythm and note its rhymes. Next he starts to anticipate succeeding clauses and finds himself inwardly speculating about how Kāṣifī will complete the rhymes and other elements in the structure. By thus making the reader eager to proceed in the text, Kāṣifī imbues the Anvār-i Sohaylī with a movement and tension not to be found in its predecessors.

It is probably the above factors as much as the sheer beauty and elegance of Kāṣifī's imagery and vocabulary which have caused the Anvār-i Sohaylī to all but eclipse the earlier version by Naṣrollāh.

#### Abū Faḏl and Hosayn Vā'iz Kāṣifī

From its very conception, the 'Iyār-i Dāniš was never intended to be anything other than a simplified version of the Anvār-i Sohaylī, one tailor-made for readers in the Indian sub-continent whose first language was not likely to be Persian. It was with this in mind that the Moghul Akbar Ṣāh ordered a favourite court scholar, Abū Faḏl, to produce this new version in a form free from difficult vocabulary and unnecessary phrases.

While Abū Faḏl may be considered a brilliant writer of

chronicles, as his renowned Akbar-nāma attests, his abridgement of the Anvār-i Sohaylī bears witness that he was not entirely successful as a simplifier of highly ornate literary texts.

It must be granted that the 'Iyār-i Dāniş' attained a certain popularity among those for whom it was primarily intended, which may be all that Abū Fażl had hoped for, but it was only among that limited group that it found acceptance. As literature, the text does not approach the grace and elegance of its original, though it is doubtful that anyone could have produced a work of lasting value by approaching the problem of simplification in the way Abū Fażl did, and this is particularly true when the original text still exists in wide circulation for comparison.

The method chosen by Abū Fażl (or ordered by Akbar?) is to follow Kāşifī's text line by line and, usually, to simplify any given sentence by removing one or more of the parallel clauses and replacing potentially difficult vocabulary with more common words. In addition, many of those sentences concerned solely with description, frequently among Kāşifī's finest, are altogether deleted and forgotten. As a result, much of the sac' and parallelism of the original is lost and the majority of Kāşifī's splendidly poetic turns of phrase are rendered trite and mediocre. The whole, in fact, gives the same impression that a Shakespeare play might if transposed for non-native speakers of English into editions employing a vocabulary of no more than, for example, one thousand words.

The 'Iyār-i Dāniş' might have achieved much greater success had Abū Fażl, instead of writing a mere *précis*, assimilated each story in the original and then composed an entirely new

and independent text to convey that tale. In such an event the result may well have stood on its own alongside the Anvār-i Sohaylī as a major version of Kalīla wa-Dimna instead of being looked upon merely as an inadequate abridgement of a virtually uncondensable literary work.

Part of Abū Faḏl's stated aim is to restore those introductory passages of the Kalīla va Dimna-yi Bahrāmshāhī which Kāṣifī does not include. Before proceeding to Kāṣifī's introduction, therefore, he partially achieves his aim by incorporating Ibn Mukaffa's preface and most of Borzūy's biography; he ignores the chapter describing the mission of Borzūy to India, perhaps because it is rendered superfluous by the introduction composed by Kāṣifī. (Probably out of respect for Akbar's father, Abū Faḏl changes the name of the mythical monarch from Homāyūn Fāl to Hōcasta Rāy in this latter introduction.) Within the main body of the text the 'Iyār-i Dāniš' follows the organization of the Anvār-i Sohaylī completely, accepting Kāṣifī's additional tales and resultant re-plotting of certain frame stories.

Though it is not possible to cite specific evidence for this view, an impression one receives while reading the 'Iyār-i Dāniš' is that Abū Faḏl set about composing his version with much misgiving, fully aware that such a scheme for simplification could hardly meet with success. As a man of letters, it is entirely possible that he would never have embarked upon this venture had it not been that it was his king and patron who had commanded him to do so. (As evidence that it was Akbar himself, and not Abū Faḏl, who longed for an unclaborated version of



Kalīla wa-Dimna, there exists in New Delhi the manuscript of another simplified Persian version of the work commissioned by Akbar, but translated directly from Sanscrit.<sup>(1)</sup> As a result of such uncertainty, Abū Faḡl does not appear to have had nearly the confidence that Kāṣifī and 'Alī Çelebi display.

In spite of the foregoing, the 'Iyār-i Dānis is a very readable work with numerous good qualities. It is only when one compares it with Kāṣifī's text that it becomes obvious what Abū Faḡl's readers are missing. His sentences, for the most part, are clear and well-constructed, although one does meet with the occasional grammatical error. The narrative pace in this version is at times uneven, but generally rapid, because of the vast amount of material which Abū Faḡl has removed.

'Alī Çelebi and Hosayn Vā'iz Kāṣifī

A comparison of corresponding passages in the Anvār-i Sohaylī and the Hūmayūn-nāma immediately indicates how close a relationship exists between the two texts, with the latter, of course, based upon the former. Clearly, both Kāṣifī and 'Alī Çelebi are formidable writers whose literary efforts were to be highly influential in Persian and Turkish letters respectively over a period of several centuries, for each man in a sense represents the zenith of the ornate rhymed prose composition which

(1) Cf. Chand, Dr. Tara, and Dr. S.A.H. Abidi, 'Panchākhyāna'.

Islamic Culture 34(1965), pp.29-39.



was to be admired and emulated by many generations of scholars.

With respect to external organization, virtually no differences exist between the two works, for 'Alī has followed Kāşifī's structure throughout by including only those chapters which the Persian does and accepting within chapters his augmentation of tales and requisite alterations in some plots. (It is unlikely, in fact, that 'Alī was aware that Kāşifī had wrought many such changes, for he had probably never read Ibn Mukāffa', Naşrollāh or Kul Mes'ūd.) Internally, too, there is a very close correspondence between the two renderings, so that most of Kāşifī's lines have their equivalent in Turkish. Given all these similarities between the renderings, the differences must lie within the individual lines.

Both 'Alī Çelebi and Abū Fażl must have approached the Anvār-i Sohaylī in much the same way, carefully studying each sentence in order to determine how it, as an independent entity, could be improved; whereas Abū Fażl sought to delete from, cull and popularize Kāşifī's work, 'Alī Çelebi's intention was to use the original as a foundation upon which he could build and exercise his own literary abilities. Whereas 'Alī entirely accepted Kāşifī's premise and method but felt he could improve upon them, Abū Fażl apparently rejected and wished to mitigate them. By applying himself to the project in this manner and drawing upon the literary resources of three languages, 'Alī succeeded in composing a work which in most passages is at least the equal of the Anvār-i Sohaylī and, from the standpoint of sac', parallelism, rhythm and imagery is frequently its superior.

The question inevitably arises as to why 'Alī Çelebi

wrote the Hümāyūn-nāma. During his lifetime, copies of the Anvār-i Sohaylī proliferated throughout the Islamic world and most probably had been read in the Persian original and admired as an outstanding literary achievement by the very people for whom 'Alī was contemplating writing the Hümāyūn-nāma. This being the case, why would 'Alī even consider the possibility of devoting himself to such potentially profitless labours? Technically speaking, the Hümāyūn-nāma is a translation into Turkish, yet its Persian content is so great that anyone capable of reading 'Alī's version could easily assimilate Kāşifī's text as well; translation per se could not, therefore, have been the motivating factor. 'Alī's intention could not have been to plagiarize, either, for he fully credits - and praises - the Anvār-i Sohaylī in his preface, undoubtedly realizing that others would have read that work as well.

Fortunately, the one remaining possibility which might explain why 'Alī wrote his version is completely borne out by the nature of the text which he produced. Simply stated, 'Alī loved language and enjoyed working with words, with sounds, with forms. The text of the Anvār-i Sohaylī offered excellent inspiration and, simultaneously, perfect ground for his further efforts. As a result, every page of the Hümāyūn-nāma proclaims 'Alī's enthusiasm for his chosen task and broadcasts his competence. A further measure of his success is the degree to which the Hümāyūn-nāma displaced the Anvār-i Sohaylī among Western Turks and the rapidity and strength of its acceptance as standard reading among scholars.

By applying the same techniques of sac', parallelism, imagery, allusion, inclusion of poetry and proverbs, quotations from the Kur'an and hadith, etc., that Kāşifî does, 'Alî generally increases the number of clauses and lengthens the sentences found in the Persian original. The ease and skill with which he accomplishes this, however, makes the additional length pass almost unnoticed by the reader. In spite of this augmentation of phrases and clauses, moreover, the greater precision inherent in Turkish grammar frequently leads to greater overall clarity of meaning than is found in the Anvār-i Sohaylî (although it may be argued that in some instances Kāşifî's ambiguities are intentional).

With regard to the inclusion of poetry, 'Alî normally follows one of several courses. Most frequently he places the Persian poetry found in the Anvār-i Sohaylî directly into his text without a translation, but often he translates these into Turkish first; in either instance he may supplement or extend Kāşifî's lines in either Persian or Turkish. At times he abandons altogether the Persian poetry of the original text, either including a totally different Turkish verse or writing nothing in its stead. Lastly, 'Alî often inserts a Persian or Turkish verse where Kāşifî has none.

Unless in verse or in Arabic, proverbs are normally translated into Turkish. Arabic quotations, whether from the Kur'an or hadith are relatively few and are never translated, although 'Alî occasionally replaces them with other Arabic quotations or deletes them altogether.

As in the Anvār-i Sohaylî, the narrative of the Hümāyūn-nāma

flows freely and is only rarely allowed to flag. Because of the richness of language and imagery, moreover, either version can be enjoyed and appreciated on a number of levels, depending upon the reader's inclinations and the amount of time he is willing and able to devote - and it must be realized that time is one commodity which Islamic scholars of that era frequently had in abundance. Almost every passage, particularly of the Hümāyūn-nāma, invites the minute consideration and diligent examination of those who appreciate elaborate rhymed prose, while the same passages hold an equal appeal, though at a different level, for the casual listener.

An immediate and unmistakable impression conveyed by the Hümāyūn-nāma is that 'Alī Çelebi is strongly confident of his own literary abilities and the value of his rendering, for he is obviously in complete control of the text, moulding and shaping it to match his own purposes. In a sense, however, it is extraordinary that he should have had such self-assurance, for Kāşifî and his Anvār-i Sohaylî were both eulogized among Islamic litterati as representing the pinnacle of accomplishment in ornate rhymed prose. 'Alī, in contrast, was apparently totally unknown in the literary world and yet sought to challenge Kāşifî's acknowledged supremacy in the field. Perhaps only a Turk who was far removed from the Persian-speaking world proper could have had the audacity to attempt the re-writing of such a revered work - excluding, of course, any writers commanded to do so by Moghul emperors. Be this as it may, 'Alī Çelebi's confidence and self-assurance are obvious throughout his text.

In the Hümāyūn-nāma we thus find ornate rhymed prose in

Ottoman Turkish literature having reached its summit, at least among versions of Kalīla wa-Dimna, for the two future versions demonstrate how tastes were to change.

'Alī Celebi and Kul Mes'ūd

Because Kul Mes'ūd's Kellile ve Dimne is based directly upon the Kalīla va Dimna-yi Bahrāmshāhī and 'Alī Celebi's Hümāyūn-nāma is likewise an offshoot of the Anvār-i Sohaylī, it might seem safe to postulate that the same kinds of differences should exist between the two Turkish versions as between the two Persian. This assumption would be, in fact, largely correct though not entirely so, for while 'Alī Celebi wrote for a readership at least as sophisticated as Kāşifī's, Kul Mes'ūd translated and transposed the text he received in order to bring it within the reach of an audience less well educated and less critical than was Naşrollāh's. Moreover, as 'Alī was in complete agreement with Kāşifī's mode of rendering the work and sought to refine the Anvār-i Sohaylī by a more intensive application of the Persian author's own methods, the Hümāyūn-nāma is an extended development of Kalīla wa-Dimna, whereas it is probable that Mes'ūd had no idea that he might actually modify the work as well as translate it. In effect, therefore, the intellectual gap which separates the two Turkish versions is wider than that dividing the two Persian ones.

Stylistically, Mes'ūd's translation has a very 'un-Turkish' ring about it, for in spite of the high percentage of Turkish

vocabulary he employs, his word order is almost entirely patterned upon that of Nasrollāh's Persian rendering. Conversely, 'Alī has in his text a far higher concentration of comparatively obscure Arabic and Persian words (frequently identical to those Kāşifī uses) yet his basic word order - and therefore his thought pattern - is Turkish. In a sense, then, while Mes'ūd largely translates words, 'Alī translates ideas, and judging by this apparent paradox it would seem that word order (or element order) is of much greater importance in determining the 'Turkishness' of an utterance than is choice of vocabulary.

Because Kul Mes'ūd severely restricts the amount of poetry, quotation from hadīth, etc., which he incorporates, his Kelīle ve Dimne appears comparatively parochial and cheerless in its approach to external elements while the Hümāyūn-nāma seems almost to luxuriate in such inclusions. Similarly, the material which 'Alī incorporates is apt to be in any of the three languages whereas Kul Mes'ūd generally allows only Turkish verse, although one does find the occasional Arabic inclusion.

In overall organization and arrangement of tales, the two Turkish versions are almost identical to their respective Persian originals; but at the level of the sentence, where Mes'ūd frequently reduces and condenses Nasrollāh's text, 'Alī's tendency is to increase and elaborate the various clauses and phrases wherever practicable. The Hümāyūn-nāma is, accordingly, infinitely more complex than the earlier Turkish work, containing a rich and imaginative array of distinct or implied relationships between the various elements; sentences in Kul Mes'ūd's version,

on the other hand, embody relatively few internal bonds beyond the obvious syntactical ones.

Because the Hümāyūn-nāma is so much more complex and carefully considered, 'Alī is able to control the pace with a degree of precision undreamed of by Mes'ūd, for 'Alī brings a much wider variety of elements into play, thus providing for himself a vast spectrum of devices with which to hone each line to his specifications. In spite of (or perhaps because of) this greater complexity, moreover, the Hümāyūn-nāma is in almost all instances a clearer text to read and understand, in contrast with Mes'ūd's frequently turgid and awkward prose.

The two works do have similarities as well. Both, for example, normally employ the essentially Arabic or Persian formula in direct speech, i.e. 'Dimna eyitdi ki...', although 'Alī occasionally uses instead the more basically Turkish 'diyu söyledi' at the end of the quotation. Furthermore, neither work fully avails itself of the wide variety of verbal suffixes which one commonly finds collected within single sentences in twentieth-century Turkish. Both writers, in addition, use Persian izāfa constructions as well as Turkish to indicate genitive or adjectival relationships among elements.

From almost any point of view, however, the Hümāyūn-nāma is far more sophisticated and enduring as a work of literature than Kul Mes'ūd's Kelīle ve Dimne ever could be, for there is an aura of craftsmanship, genius, sensitivity and even excitement on each page of 'Alī's translation which is almost totally absent from the earlier version.



'Osmānzāda Tā'ib and 'Alī Celebi

The Semār ül-Esmār by 'Osmānzāda Tā'ib is heavily dependent upon the Hümāyūn-nāma, from which virtually all its sentences are culled. In adapting 'Alī's version, 'Osmānzāda almost entirely restructures the basic outline of the work and in so doing largely destroys the raison d'être of the collection, for no longer does one story progress easily and reasonably to the next. Instead, all the frame stories are heaped together in the first half of the book and many of the remaining non-frame stories are relegated to the second half to fend for themselves as a series of unrelated tales. While 'Osmānzāda's sincere hope was apparently that this total re-shuffling would allow for the easier and more complete extraction of morals from each tale, each story loses much of its efficacy when presented in isolation from its old environment as merely one in a long series of independent tales.

Within individual tales, moreover, 'Osmānzāda deletes much of 'Alī's prose and verse so that what remains is little more than a meagre shadow of the Hümāyūn-nāma. Rather than through mere replacement of vocabulary, this transformation is usually carried out more by removing whole sentences and clauses, then, so as to preserve continuity, summarizing vital material from rejected sentences in a single phrase or clause.

Besides the usually brief transitional passage between the various tales which stresses the moral to be gleaned, it is only rarely that 'Osmānzāda adds material to the story. Such transitions are occasionally ornamented with poetry, frequently



selected from rejected portions of 'Alī's text. Beyond this total reorganization of tales and reduction in the quantity of textual material, however, there is little which 'Osmānzāda's text offers a reader that is not to be found in the older Hümāyūn-nāma.

'Osmānzāda Tā'ib and Abū Faẓl

In so far as each is an abridgement of its great predecessor, 'Osmānzāda Tā'ib's Semār ūl-Esmār is in many respects the Ottoman Turkish equivalent of Abū Faẓl's Persian 'Iyār-i Dāniş. Fundamental differences do exist between the two works, however, for the 'Iyār-i Dāniş was completed within a few generations of its original by an Indian scholar far removed from the Anvār-i Sohaylī's native Herat and in the Moghul Empire, who modified that book according to his Emperor's express instructions. The Semār ūl-Esmār, on the other hand, was composed nearly two centuries after the Hümāyūn-nāma by an Ottoman Turk writing for fellow Ottomans and, apparently, of his own volition. The Indian's intention was to simplify the whole work (for people to whom Persian was not a first language) by replacing difficult words and phrases, by reducing sentence length and by deleting entire sentences. 'Osmānzāda also simplifies the Hümāyūn-nāma (for people less well versed in Arabic and Persian than 'Alī Çelebi's readers) through the deletion of much material and extensive reorganization, but generally he engages in relatively little popularization of vocabulary of the sort Abū Faẓl

carries out.

Anyone who has read and appreciated either 'parent work' cannot but be frustrated and saddened by the amount of culling which both Abū Faḏl and 'Osmānzāda deem necessary. Most of the resulting passages carry the story-line sufficiently to support the plot but have none of the lasting artistic grace and grandeur of their predecessors.

Ahmed Midhat and 'Alī Çelebi

As a translation of 'Alī Çelebi's mid-sixteenth-century work into late-nineteenth-century Turkish, Ahmed Midhat Efendi's Hulāsa-yı Hümāyūn-nāma is a remarkable work for, in spite of a more universal education, by the latter period there were relatively few Ottoman Turks well enough versed in the classical languages (i.e. Arabic and Persian) fully to understand and appreciate even the most straightforward passages in the Hümāyūn-nāma. It was probably a recognition of this problem and a realization that Kalīla wa-Dimna was intrinsically too fine a work to suffer this increasing neglect which prompted Midhat to transform 'Alī Çelebi's version into the idiom of the day and so bring the work within the reach of a much broader readership than the Hümāyūn-nāma was ever designed for. Midhat's rendering is entirely of his own composition in which hardly a phrase from 'Alī's version survives, and so complete is Midhat's transformation that the Hulāsa-yı Hümāyūn-nāma represents the greatest break with its original of any of the known Persian

or Turkish derivatives of the Kalīla va Dimna-yi Bahrāmsāhī until this century. Indeed, the break between the texts of 'Alī and Midhat is perhaps even greater than that between Nasrollāh and 'Alī.

Stylistically, the Hulāsa-yı Hümāyūn-nāma is very close to the literary Turkish of present-day Republican Turkey, although its use of Arabic and Persian vocabulary, phrases and izāfas - minimal by 'Alī's standards - definitely marks the work as pre-dating the Republican period. Within Midhat's sentences, the word and element order is also generally that followed by modern writers in that each element assumes an almost 'conversational' size, weight and position in the sentence, with almost no regard given to such concepts as sac and parallelism, and very little to rhythm, assonance and alliteration. Furthermore, instead of using the somewhat tiring formula, often repeated in earlier Turkish versions, of 'Kelīle eyitdi' or 'Kelīle dedi', which is clearly derived from the Persian 'Kalīla goft' and is not 'natural' to Turkish, Midhat varies the manner of direct quotation and so is more apt to write:

Kelīle bu hikāyeyi söyleyerek arkadaşları Dimneye  
'...' diye nasihat verdi.

(Mid 133/10-14)

In order to prove that Midhat follows 'Alī's example as well, however, the above passage is immediately followed by 'Dimne dedi ki...'. .

Midhat follows very closely the plot and general outline of 'Ali Çelebi's version, yet creates a work which

reads in a totally different manner and has clearly been influenced by contemporary Western European novelists. Gone is all of 'Alī's poetry; gone, too, are all the Arabic quotations and most of the esoteric allusions to mythical and historical figures and events. Midhat's removal of sac', combined with his apparent lack of interest in parallelism and traditional ideas of balance, also set the work apart from the Hümāyūn-nāma, for no longer must nouns be supported by a corps of epithets. No longer do sentences punctuate themselves automatically by virtue of rhyme and rhythm, but instead depend completely upon the same case endings and verbal suffixes that twentieth-century Turkish uses.

Because Midhat almost always keeps the text clear and straightforward, yet frequently varies the length, order and weight of sentence elements, the pace of the Hulāsa-yı Hümāyūn-nāma rarely flags. His willingness to use colloquial exclamations of surprise and other informal-sounding sentences at key moments serves to re-inforce the rapid pace demanded at certain times and, as he omits much of 'Alī's elaborate description, the text exists on a much different intellectual level from its predecessor's and does not demand anything like the prosodic skill and dexterity of 'Alī's version in order to maintain the momentum of the narrative.

That Ahmed Midhat was already an established writer when he composed this work seems obvious from the text, for he appears to have supreme confidence in himself and in his authority to re-work the Hümāyūn-nāma, even deeming it within his warrant to supplement the revered work by introducing

several new tales of his own. In short, Midhat invests much of himself into his new version of Kalīla wa-Dimna and so creates a highly entertaining work, skilfully tailored for his late-nineteenth-century contemporaries, yet it is with sadness that one realizes that never again will a work with the power and eloquence of the Humāyūn-nāma find an appreciative audience among the general public.

## CONCLUSION

In the introduction, style was defined as the conscious use of the features of language to evoke in a reader the desired response to thoughts or feelings. As such, style is an intensely personal phenomenon which reveals much about the author, his audience and, frequently, his patron, for all of these in some way determine the nature of a work of art.

Another valid definition of style could be that individuality of a work of literary intention which marks it as separate from the normal usages of language at a given time. Among the eight Persian and Turkish authors discussed here who wrote versions of Kalīla wa-Dimna there exists the widest possible range of abilities, backgrounds and circumstances and each rendering reflects these to a very high degree.

Ultimately, of course, style is determined by the basic structure of a language which, for all practical purposes, is identical to its grammar. Yet style is much more than this, for while it has been shown that over the period of literary history covered here remarkably few changes have occurred in Persian or in Turkish grammar, each of the eight works displays many features unique to itself. A study of grammar alone, therefore, is not a sufficient guide to style in literature.

Let us postulate several stages of development applicable to a language or cultural group beginning its literary life in the shadow of a more advanced culture. The first stage is a period of imitation when the developing language has no literary history or tradition, but recognizes that the nearby culture is producing and appreciating literature. Next, the developing

language enters the innovative stage. By this time the authors and their audiences have gained adequate experience in literature to discriminate between good and bad, but while feeling sufficiently confident to extend the ideas they have gleaned from the more experienced culture, yet they are not ready to break the bond between the two languages. Finally, a developing culture acquires sufficient self-confidence to embark upon literary invention. The influence of the older culture is now no longer dominant and authors and audiences alike are discriminating enough in their taste, expectations and experience to be ready to assert themselves in terms of their own language and culture.

The imitative stage.

In any developing cultural group there will be those who, through contact with a superior culture, recognize that they themselves lack both a literature and the requisite background for its development. If there is a great enough number of such people they may feel the desire to transfer acceptable literary works from the dominant culture into their own, and there is no more logical way to do this than by translation. Initially these translations will be extremely servile; the author/translator either will recognize that in the eyes of his audience or patron he does not have the authority to deviate from the original, or he will not realize that he in fact has the opportunity for innovation. Further, the task of such an author merely to transfer a work into his own tongue would be too great to permit him to undertake anything more demanding. His language may never before have been used to treat such

relatively complex ideas in a literary fashion and it will be the task of the writer/translator to develop the necessary forms and to pioneer a style.

Kul Mes'ūd certainly was in this position when he set out to translate Naşrollāh's Kalīla va Dimna-yi Bahrāmshāhī in the mid-fourteenth century A.D., for Anatolian Turks as yet had nothing which the educated classes regarded as literature other than second-hand Arabic and Persian works. From a historical point of view it was fortunate for the destiny of the language that Mes ud and his Turkish contemporaries decided to develop a Turkish literature; for had they, like the Saljuk and the Zangid Turks before them, chosen to adopt an established foreign tongue (i.e. Persian) for their literature, the development of the Ottoman language might have been seriously retarded. As it was, however, Kul Mes ud and his fellows translated into Turkish such Persian narrative prose works as Kalīla va Dimna and the Marzobān-nāma and laid the foundations for further linguistic growth. Later, Turks such as Şeyhī would write works based upon the Persian model, like Hüsrev-ü Şirīn, a book clearly inspired by Persian literary experience, but not a direct translation of Nizami's work.

The Zangid al-Boḥārī was, to a degree, in the same position as Kul Mes'ūd, for although the former was writing in an established language (one which had re-developed in the shadow of Arabic) his host dynasty's literary experience - and perhaps his own also - was strictly limited. Thus he, too, was largely dependent upon his Arabic original and wrote, for the most part, in a pedestrian Persian style.



The innovative stage.

With the passing of years a developing literary culture may acquire enough experience and a sufficient body of writing for its authors to go a step further in literary development and create original works based entirely on the principles and methods of the superior culture. At this stage one would expect much originality and unique application of the established patterns, yet all the while the author, his patrons and his audience would be insecure about how his productions compared with those of the dominant culture. Only rarely would an author attempt to take the initiative, for such invention probably would not meet with the approval of the literary public.

‘Alī Çelebi, in translating the Anvār-i Sohaylī, is representative of this stage for, ingenious and inspired as he was, his entire Hümāyūn-nāma is within those limits and principles which Kāşifī set for himself - perhaps never expecting that these criteria would be followed so closely or prosecuted so elegantly by any other author. To ‘Alī Çelebi and all his Ottoman contemporaries, "Culture" resided in the Persian language and the literary activities of the major Persian courts of the day, and the best that writers on the shores of the Bosphorus could do would be to try to introduce some flavour of it into their own Turkish experience. ‘Alī thus followed in the master's footsteps, yet in so doing he created a work which was as brilliant as its original and uniquely Ottoman.

To a much lesser extent, Naşrollāh also falls into this category, for although he was extremely inventive in his own way, he still felt it necessary to lend authority to his rendering through frequent references to the Kur’ān, the hadīth

and to numerous Arabic poets. At the same time, his mode of invoking these was novel and ingenious and was to be followed by generations of Persian - and also Turkish - writers.

### The inventive stage.

When a literary culture has reached this stage of development it no longer looks outside itself for its inspiration, having acquired its own standards and its own methods. While the literature of the former 'parent' culture may still be read, interest will be centered almost entirely in its classics rather than its modern works and a thorough grounding in the foreign language is no longer a prerequisite for success in one's own. By the time this stage is reached, therefore, the culture's timidity and self-deprecation have given way to a feeling of independence and even self-complacency.

Among our authors, Ḥosayn Kāṣifī best represents this stage, for although he was translating a work obviously foreign in origin, he gave that work a flavour which was entirely Persian, making only the merest gesture of acknowledgement to Arabic. His own inventiveness is unquestioned and, to judge by the immediate fame and popularity which the Anvār-i Sohaylī achieved, such qualities were expected and perhaps even demanded by his contemporaries.

Despite his use of Arabic quotation which placed him in the previous category, Naṣrollāh belongs in this one as well, for he created a unique literary work which was to inspire others for many centuries. Even his greatest critic Vaṣṣāf, writes in a style which owes much to Naṣrollāh's earlier efforts.

Among the Ottomans it would probably be fitting to place

Ahmed Midhat in this group, for when he wrote his Hümāyūn-nāma, Persian was considered solely as a classical language and had a modern literature which few Ottomans even knew about. As a result, Midhat promotes many purely Ottoman ideas and patterns in his work and displays little concern for Persian ideals. Simultaneously, however, Midhat may be considered as belonging to an earlier stage as far as European languages - especially French - are concerned, for the Ottoman language was under attack from within by those who felt that it should 'modernize', i.e. become more like the Turkish conception of contemporary European literary style; as a result, his version at times shows Western influence in such areas as informality and colloquialness.

It is difficult to categorize the remaining two authors, Abū Faḡl and 'Osmānzāda Tā'ib, for neither did more than abridge and simplify versions already existing in their own languages. In a sense, Abū Faḡl wrote in conditions like those of al-Boḡārī, for Persian was merely a second language for many of those for whom he wrote; but any similarity ends there, for Abū Faḡl's Moghul patrons were far more sophisticated than al-Boḡārī's intended audience could possibly have been.

Although their basic education would still have included the study of Persian, albeit as an extra-curricular subject, to the people for whom 'Osmānzāda wrote that language was almost daily becoming more foreign and its influence over Ottoman literary life was waning. 'Osmānzāda, in a sense, represents that decline of Persian, for his re-organization and abridgement of the Hümāyūn-nāma most probably would not have been countenanced by 'Alī Çelebi's generation but seems to have gone un-noticed

by his own. Because of these ambiguities, however, the classification of Abū Faḡl and 'Osmānzāda remains unsatisfactory.

By the nature of his work, each author represented here is shown to be a product of his particular educational system and of the priorities which prevailed in his society. The principle stylistic features of Persian - intricate sac', parallelism and carefully regulated rhythm - are discernable in Naṣrollāh and reach the peak of their complexity and elaboration in the Anvār-i Sohaylī of Kāṣifī, written during the period when Persian letters were at their most confident and inventive. Indeed, it is Kāṣifī who manipulates the text with the greatest exuberance of conscious mastery of language, showing far less deference than does Naṣrollāh toward Arabic literary tradition. This waning of the influence of Arabic on Persian literature is a reflection of the corresponding decline in emphasis on Arabic in education and in public life.

Abū Faḡl, while not writing in the mainstream of Persian literary tradition, may nevertheless be considered as representative of later developments in Persian literature, for the Indian audience for whom he wrote was in its own way as far removed from the contemporary Persian cultural milieu and educational traditions as were later generations of Persians. The simplifications, therefore, which were deemed necessary for the Indians because of their cultural and educational differences would later be brought about in the literature of Iran itself due to its changing cultural environment.

In these four renderings of Kalila wa-Dimna, there is thus a pattern of rise and decline in the level of stylistic

organization and ornamentation of narrative prose, this fluctuation being entirely dependent upon the cultural sophistication of the author and of the audience being addressed.

A similar pattern may be observed in the development of style in Turkish literature, although there exists at least one major difference between the Persian and the Ottoman experiences. Whereas the rise in sophistication in Persian letters signalled a simultaneous decrease in dependence upon Arabic models, Ottoman prose at its most sophisticated followed directly the trends initiated by the Persian; for even when Ottoman Turkish literature was at the zenith of its stylistic expression, the education of any man of cultural pretensions was based upon the instilling of a sound knowledge of Arabic and Persian - but hardly ever Turkish - classics. As a result, virtually all authors sought their inspiration in those classics from the East. And so it was with 'Alī Çelebi, whose Humāyūn-nāma clearly could never have existed without its Persian model despite the tremendous amount of creative and ingenious effort which he must have brought to bear upon the work. Among the four Turkish versions, indeed, a real sense of independence from Persian literature can be noted only in Ahmed Midhat's Hulāsa-yi Humāyūn-nāma, however much the beginnings of this trend may also be discerned in the work of 'Osmānzāda.

It might be possible to determine the extent to which these Persian and Turkish authors have contributed to the development of the modern idiom, even though on the surface it would appear that both languages have wholly and resolutely renounced the literary assumptions from which such works arose. This influence - admittedly difficult to identify with any precision -

would probably reside in the notion of elegance and dignity of expression and could most easily be discerned in those instances which call for a higher degree of formality. What can be affirmed with certainty, however, is that literature, like the language in which it is embodied, undergoes an organic development in which the constant change of form is merely the modifying aspect of a continual and enduring essence. Although Kāşifî and ‘Alî Çelebi may not be read today with the same delight as in their own period, yet each has contributed a significant milestone to his own national culture.

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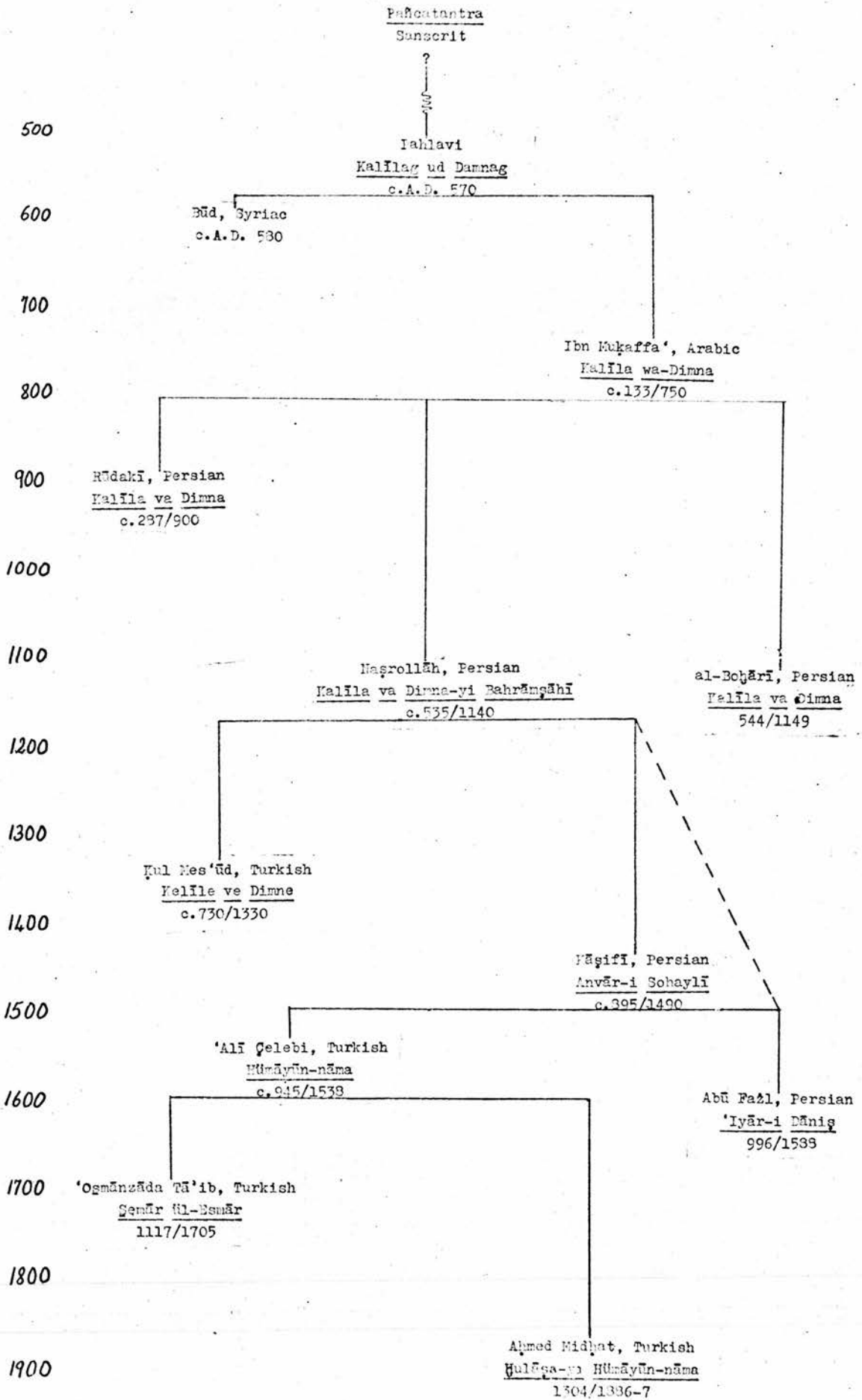
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APPENDIX A  
GENEALOGICAL TABLE

A.D.



APPENDIX B

CROSS-INDEX

	Ch	Sad	Az	Syl	Mus	Zan	ZanG	NasM	NasK	NasG	Nasa	Kas	Abu	Kul	KulZ	Ali	Osm	Mid	Alp	DoG	Kna	East	Vol	K-F	EdG	
A* Individual Introductions (post: Ibn Mukaffa')	-	-	-	-	-	1b	2	2	6	2	2	2	2	-	-	2	2	2	9	3	-	1	3	-	-	
B* 'Alī b. Ṣāh's Preface	5	3	-	2	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16	1	-	-	-	-	
C Borzay's Mission to India	19	26	13	31	54	5b	10	28	33	27	41	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	31	32	-	-	-	-	
D Ibn Mukaffa's Preface	45	45	3	45	80	11a	20	38	43	38	59	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	42	47	-	-	-	-	
1 The Man Who Found Treasure	47	46	4	46	82	11b	20	39	45	38	61	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	42	49	-	-	-	-	
2 The Man Who Wished to be Wise	47	47	5	47	83	-	-	39	45	39	62	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	43	50	-	-	-	-	
3 The Man Too Sleepy to Catch a Thief	48	50	6	48	83	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	43	51	-	-	-	-	
4 The Two Grain-Sellers and the Cloak	50	53	8	53	90	12a	22	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	46	57	-	-	-	-	
5 The Merchant and the Two Jars	51	54	-	55	92	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	47	60	-	-	-	-	
6 The Three Brothers	51	55	-	56	94	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	47	61	-	-	-	-	
7 The Dervish and the Thief	49	-	9	51	83	12b	23	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	45	54	-	-	-	-	
8 The Fisherman and the Pearl	52	56	-	57	97	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	48	62	-	-	-	-	
E Borzay's Biography	30	58	25	61	100	14a	26	44	50	43	67	-	12	8b	-	-	-	-	-	50	65	-	-	248	-	
1 The Merchant Who Sold at a Loss	32	61	-	64	104	15b	29	46	52	45	70	-	14	9b	-	-	-	-	-	51	69	-	-	252	-	
2 The Merchant, the Thieves and the Moonlight	35	61	30	64	105	16a	30	49	54	47	73	-	15	11a	-	-	-	-	-	52	69	-	-	254	-	
3 The Man Who Had a Mistress	36	-	33	66	-	16b	32	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	72	-	-	257	-	
4 The Man and the Servant	-	64	-	-	109	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	53	-	-	-	-	-	
5 The Merchant's Jewel	37	66	34	68	112	17b	33	51	56	50	76	-	17	12a	-	-	-	-	-	54	74	-	-	258	-	
6 The Dog on the River-Bank, and the Bone	38	67	35	69	114	18a	35	53	57	51	78	-	17	12b	-	-	-	-	-	55	76	-	-	260	-	
7 Description of Embryo	40	69	37	72	117	19a	36	54	58	52	80	-	18	13b	-	-	-	-	-	56	79	-	-	262	-	
8 The Man Who Fell into a Pit	43	71	41	75	121	20a	38	56	61	55	84	-	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	58	80	-	-	266	-	
F* Kāqif's Preface (first half of his chapter one)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	21	-	-	23	4	-	-	-	-	15	12	-	-
1 King Hormayūn-Rai	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	21	-	-	24	4	-	-	-	-	16	12	-	-
2 Labqāim and Bidpay the Philosopher	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25	26	-	-	42	5	-	-	-	-	30	23	-	-

	Ch	Sad	Az	Syl	Hue	Zan	ZanG	NasM	NasK	NasG	NasA	Kas	Abu	Kul	KulZ	Ali	Oem	Mid	Alp	Doğ	Kna	East	Vol	K-F	Edg
P 3 The Two Doves	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	36	30	-	-	58	87	-	-	-	-	43	32	-	-
4 The Two Swift Hawks	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	44	33	-	-	72	90	-	-	-	-	52	39	-	-
5 The Cat and the King's Guest-House	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	47	35	-	-	76	92	-	-	-	-	55	41	-	-
6 The Dervish Who Attained a High Position	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50	36	-	-	81	-	-	-	-	-	59	44	-	-
7 The Leopard Who Achieved Success	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	55	38	-	-	88	-	-	-	-	-	64	48	-	-
G* The Lion and the Bull	53	73	43	78	125	20b	40	59	63	57	87	61	41	15a	1	96	9	73	56	59	82	71	54	1	274
1 The Merchant and His Sons	53	73	43	78	125	20b	40	59	64	57	88	62	42	15a	1	97	10	74	56	59	83	72	55	2	274
2 The Two Princes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	64	43	-	-	100	94	77	58	-	-	74	56	-	-
3 The Dervish, the Hawk and the Crow	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	67	44	-	-	106	-	81	61	-	-	78	59	-	-
4 The Wasteful House	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	70	45	-	-	109	97	85	63	-	-	80	61	-	-
5 The Man Who Could Not Escape His Fate	-	75	45	80	128	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	60	85	-	-	275	-
6 The Ape and the Carpenter	55	77	46	82	131	22a	41	62	66	-	92	75	48	17a	4	115	-	91	68	61	88	86	65	4	277
7 Slim and Ganin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	77	50	-	-	119	98	96	71	-	-	88	67	-	-
8 The Fox and the Drum	62	84	55	90	141	25b	51	70	75	68	104	87	56	23a	11	132	100	107	78	66	100	98	75	14	284
9 The Ascetic Whose Cloak was Stolen	65	87	58	94	147	27b	55	74	79	-	109	92	59	14a	14	139	105	112	80	68	104	103	79	18	288
10 The Weak Sparrow	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	98	63	-	-	148	-	120	86	-	-	111	84	-	-
11 The Just King	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	102	65	-	-	152	105	122	87	-	-	114	87	-	-
12 The Crow and the Snake	69	93	63	100	155	30a	62	81	85	74	120	103	66	34a	19	155	106	125	89	72	113	116	89	23	294
13 The Treacherous Heron	69	93	64	100	157	30b	62	82	86	74	121	104	66	32a	21	156	-	126	89	73	113	117	89	24	294
14 The Hungry Cat, the Fox and the Hare	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	107	69	-	-	160	-	130	92	-	-	121	92	-	-
15 The Hare, the Lion and the Well	72	96	66	103	160	31b	65	86	89	78	125	110	70	35a	23	164	107	134	94	74	117	124	94	26	296
16 The Three Fishes	75	99	69	107	165	33b	70	91	94	83	133	115	73	39a	27	172	-	139	97	77	121	130	99	31	314
17 The Scorpion and the Tortoise	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	118	75	-	-	175	108	-	-	-	-	133	101	-	-
18 The Louse and the Flea	77	102	72	110	170	35a	74	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	126	-	-	34	302
19 The Duck Who Saw the Reflection of the Moon in the Water	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	102	105	92	139	126	79	44b	33	185	-	-	-	81	-	142	108	-	-
20 The Hunting Hawk and the Domestic Powl	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	128	80	-	-	188	-	145	101	-	-	144	110	-	-



Ch	Sad	az	Syl	Nus	Zan	ZanG	Nash	NasK	NasG	NasA	Kas	Abu	Kul	KulZ	Ali	Om	PKd	Alp	DeG	Kan	East	Vol	E-F	Big
21* The Farmer and the Nightingale	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	131	82	-	-	191	110	149	104	-	-	147	112	-	-
22 The Hunter and the Fox	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	134	83	-	-	196	-	152	106	-	-	151	115	-	-
23 The Wolf, the Crow, the Jackal and the Camel	84	109	79	119	179	39a	83	106	109	97	155	136	84	47b	36	198	111	155	127	83	119	153	116	48
24 The Sea-Bird and the Wokil-i-Eurva	88	113	84	124	185	41b	90	110	112	100	160	141	87	50b	30	204	-	162	112	87	145	150	120	40
25 The Duck and the Tortoise	89	113	84	125	186	42a	91	110	113	101	161	141	87	51a	39	205	113	163	112	88	146	151	121	48
26 The Bird and the Apes	94	118	90	128	190	45a	99	116	118	106	169	150	92	55a	44	218	-	173	118	90	151	170	129	55
27 The Two Partners, One Wise and One Foolish	95	118	91	129	191	45b	100	117	119	107	171	152	93	55b	45	220	114	175	120	90	152	172	130	51
28 The Frog, the Snake and the Crab	97	120	92	-	-	46a	103	118	121	109	172	154	94	-	46	223	-	176	121	-	-	174	132	-
29 The Gardener's Friendship with the Bear	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	159	96	-	-	229	116	183	125	-	-	180	136	-	-
30 The Iron-Eating Mouse	99	122	94	132	195	47a	105	122	124	112	176	162	97	58a	48	232	117	185	126	92	156	184	139	53
31 Imputation of One's Own Guilt	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	191	130	-	-	-	-	-
H* The Investigation into Dinna's Conduct	102	124	99	135	198	48a	-	129	128	115	182	167	106	60a	50	237	119	194	133	94	160	189	144	63
1 The Hungry Fox and the Hen	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	169	107	-	-	-	240	20	195	134	-	-	191	145	-
2 The Ass Who Sought His Tail	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	171	103	-	-	242	-	-	-	-	-	-	193	147	-
3 The King's Groom Who Divulged Secrets	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	177	110	-	-	251	119	202	138	-	-	-	203	157	-
4 The Ascetic Who was Beguiled by Power	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	182	113	-	-	258	-	207	142	-	-	-	205	156	-
5 The Blind Man Who Mistook a Snake for a Whip	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	186	114	-	-	262	120	210	144	-	-	-	209	159	-
6 The Saintly Old Man and the Dervish	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	183	115	-	-	266	121	214	146	-	-	-	212	162	-
7 The Merchant's Wife, Her Lover and the Slave	109	-	107	139	202	52a	-	137	138	-	200	194	118	67a	57	274	-	221	150	97	165	219	167	76
8 The Fraudulent Treasurer	-	129	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9 The Three Envious Men Who Burned in Their Own Fire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	198	120	-	-	280	122	224	152	-	-	-	224	170	-
10 The Ignorant Doctor, the King and the Princess	118	136	114	146	211	53a	-	146	144	131	212	205	124	71a	62	291	-	229	155	101	175	232	177	93

Ch	Sad	Az	Syl	Mus	Zan	Zang	Nash	Nash	Nash3	Nash4	Nash	Kul	Kul2	Ali	Om	Nig	Alp	Dog	Ind	East	Vol	Key	Ref
120	-	-	148	214	55a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	102	178	-	-	-	-
-	143	121	155	221	58a	153	150	-	220	213	127	75b	66	302	123	235	158	106	187	241	183	164	-
125	147	125	160	227	59b	197	154	133	226	220	135	79a	-	311	24	202	165	159	192	249	189	165	305
125	147	125	160	227	59b	158	155	139	227	221	136	79b	-	313	25	243	165	169	192	250	190	169	309
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	229	139	-	-	325	-	251	170	-	-	258	197	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	234	141	-	-	334	125	254	192	-	-	264	201	-	-
131	133	133	167	236	62b	170	165	150	243	243	146	87a	-	340	-	261	176	113	201	273	203	115	308
132	154	134	168	238	63a	171	165	151	245	244	146	88a	-	350	-	262	177	113	202	275	210	116	309
133	154	135	168	239	63b	172	167	151	246	245	147	88b	-	351	-	-	-	114	203	275	210	117	310
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	255	151	-	-	366	-	272	182	-	-	287	219	-	-
143	163	147	180	225	69b	191	182	167	269	265	159	100b	69	379	29	284	188	121	216	297	223	129	308
143	165	148	180	255	69b	191	182	167	269	265	159	101a	70	380	30	285	190	121	216	298	229	130	309
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	273	162	-	-	391	-	290	193	-	-	306	236	-	-
147	169	152	184	261	72a	201	191	176	283	280	165	106b	76	400	-	296	197	124	222	313	241	134	364
148	170	153	185	262	72b	202	191	177	284	281	165	107b	76	402	-	297	198	124	223	315	242	135	365
149	172	155	187	266	73b	206	194	180	289	287	168	-	79	412	129	301	201	125	226	322	248	137	366
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	290	-	-	-	416	-	-	-	-	-	325	250	-	-
152	175	159	192	270	75a	211	199	185	297	295	171	-	82	424	130	305	203	128	233	331	254	141	372
155	178	162	194	275	76a	214	201	-	301	300	173	-	85	432	-	311	207	130	237	336	259	144	376

	Ch	Sad	Az	Syl	Mus	Zan	ZanG	NasM	NasK	NasG	NasA	Kas	Abu	Kul	KulZ	All	Osm	Mid	Alp	Dog	Kna	East	Wol	K-F	Edg
J 9 The Thief, the Div, the Ascetic and the Cow	155	179	162	195	276	76b		215	202	188	302	301	174	109a	85	434	131	313	208	130	238	338	260	145	377
10 The Carpenter and His Unfaithful Wife	156	-	164	196	-	77a		217	203	-	304	303	175	110a	86	437	132	316	210	-	240	340	262	146	378
11 The Man Who Believed His Ears and not His Eyes	-	180	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12 The Faithful Ape	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	308	177	-	-	443	-	320	212	-	-	345	266	-	-
15 The Mouse Who Became a Human Girl	159	182	167	199	279	78b		224	206	191	311	317	182	113b	90	457	135	327	217	132	244	355	373	148	360
14 The Snake and the Frog	162	186	170	203	285	80a		230	210	195	318	323	184	116b	94	467	-	333	220	134	250	361	273	153	386
15 The Sparrow and the Snake	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	327	186	-	-	471	-	336	222	-	-	365	281	-	-
K The Ape and the Tortoise	167	190	175	209	292	82a		238	217	201	328	332	192	121a	-	477	34	339	225	138	258	370	286	158	393
1 The Foolish Tortoise and the Ape	167	190	175	209	292	82a		238	217	202	328	333	192	121b	-	478	34	340	225	138	258	371	287	158	393
2 The King of Kashair and His Sentinel Ape	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	337	194	-	-	484	-	343	227	-	-	376	291	-	-
3 The Servant and His Master	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	351	232	-	-	-	-	-	-
4 The Sycophant and the Bey	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	352	232	-	-	-	-	-	-
5 The Fox, the Lion and the Ass Who Had No Heart or Ears	172	194	181	213	298	84b		253	226	211	346	353	202	128a	-	507	-	363	239	141	264	393	304	165	398
L The Ascetic and the Weasel	175	197	185	216	302	86a		260	228	214	356	361	207	131a	-	517	41	369	243	143	268	402	311	169	401
1 The Ascetic and the Weasel	175	197	185	216	302	86a		261	230	216	356	363	208	132a	-	519	41	370	244	143	269	404	313	169	401
2 The Pious Man and the Jar of Honey and Oil	176	198	186	217	303	86a		263	232	217	358	366	209	132b	-	524	137	376	247	143	269	409	316	270	401
3 The King Who Killed His Hawk	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	371	210	-	-	530	-	381	250	-	-	413	320	-	-
M The Cat and the House	205	200	229	220	308	87a		266	234	219	362	374	212	134b	-	533	43	388	253	146	273	417	323	172	-
1 The Friendship of the House and the Cat	206	201	230	220	309	87b		267	235	220	364	375	213	135b	-	535	44	390	254	146	275	419	325	172	-
2 The Farmer's Faithless Wife	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	381	215	-	-	543	138	396	258	-	-	425	329	-	-
3 The House and the Frog	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	393	219	-	-	559	141	404	262	-	-	439	340	-	-
4 The Fox and His Enemies	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	407	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

	Ch	Sad	Az	Syl	huc	Zan	Zamg	NasM	NasK	NasG	NasA	Kas	Abu	Kul	KulZ	Ali	Osm	Mid	Alp	Dog	Kna	East Vol	K-P	Edg
N																								
1 The King and His Bird Panza	211	206	237	228	318	90a		282	242	227	378	399	222	142a	-	564	47	414	264	150	286	444	344	179
2 The King and His Bird	211	206	237	228	318	90a		283	243	228	379	399	222	142b	-	566	48	416	265	150	286	445	345	178
3 Dana-Jil and the Thieves	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	403	224	-	-	571	142	422	259	-	-	446	349	-
3 The Old Woman and Her Daughter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	288	246	231	383	406	225	145a	-	506	-	427	272	-	-	453	351	-
Mohasti																								
4 The Incision and the King	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	408	226	-	-	589	-	429	273	-	-	456	353	-
5 The Doctor and the Foolish Patient	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	410	227	-	-	591	-	-	-	-	-	458	355	-
6 The King of Turkistan and His Enemy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	412	228	-	-	593	-	-	-	-	-	450	357	-
7 The Ascetic and the Wolf	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	417	229	-	-	600	-	432	275	-	-	456	361	-
8 The Baker and the Arab	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	419	230	-	-	603	-	435	276	-	-	468	363	-
9 The Wolf and the Lamb	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	436	278	-	-	-	-	-
10 The Chemist	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	438	-	-	-	-	-	-
O																								
1 The Lion and the Jackal	217	213	245	236	323	93a		304	257	242	402	423	233	150a	-	607	52	441	279	155	298	472	366	186
1 The Jackal, the Ascetic and the Lion	218	214	246	237	329	94a		308	260	245	409	426	234	152b	-	611	52	443	280	155	299	476	369	187
2 The Flies and the Jar of Honey	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	431	236	-	-	617	-	448	283	-	-	482	373	-
3 The Sultan of Baghdad and His Mistress	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	438	240	-	-	627	144	458	289	-	-	489	379	-
4 The Ertious Merchant and His Servant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	446	242	-	-	638	-	467	294	-	-	488	386	-
5 The King of Yemen Who Saw No Fault in His Chamberlain	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	454	246	-	-	649	145	472	297	-	-	506	392	-
P																								
1 The Archer and the Lioness	239	224	275	266	341	-	-	334	276	261	440	461	251	164b	-	657	56	477	301	162	339	514	398	214
2 The Lioness and the Archer	240	224	276	267	342	-	-	335	277	263	442	462	252	165a	-	659	57	478	302	162	340	516	400	214
3 The Grain-Seller Whose House Caught Fire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	469	255	-	-	668	-	483	305	-	-	523	405	-
4 The Pig Who Ate the Ape's Fruit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	472	256	-	-	673	-	486	307	-	-	526	408	-
5 The Missionary and the Brahmin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	489	308	-	-	-	-	-
Q																								
1 The Ascetic and His Guest	243	244	279	270	369	-	-	340	280	266	448	476	259	166b	-	677	60	491	311	175	343	530	411	217
2 The Ascetic and His Guest	243	244	279	270	369	-	-	340	281	266	449	477	259	167a	-	678	61	492	311	175	344	532	413	217

[illegible]

NOTES TO THE CROSS-INDEX

It is the intention of this set of tables to clarify relationships between the various Arabic, Persian and Turkish prose renderings of Kalīla wa-Dimna (and, secondarily, English translations of the fables) and to facilitate comparison of equivalent passages within those versions. As specific details of many stories vary from text to text, the English titles can only be approximate; in tale G28, for example, one version gives to a turtle the role played in other renderings by a frog.

The first five columns in the tables represent various editions of Ibn Muḳaffa's Arabic translation; the next eight are Persian, followed in turn by seven Turkish works. The last five columns represent English translations. An asterisk next to the chapter letter or tale number indicates that there will be some comment or additional information in these notes; a hyphen in place of a page/folio number shows that the tale or chapter does not exist in that particular edition or version.

A The introductions here are, for the most part, works original to the author in question and not translations of a predecessor's. Ibn Muḳaffa's preface appears below and is designated D.

B 'Alī b. Ṣāh, alias Bahnūd b. Sahvān, is an unknown person who, apparently, wrote an independent preface to the collection of tales. See A.F.L. Beeston, 'The "Alī Ibn Shāh" Preface to Kalīlah wa Dimnah.' Oriens 7(1954). pp.81-84.

D5 This tale was apparently deemed too indelicate to appear

- in Sad and so has been drastically altered.
- E7 A footnote in Kna, p.79, reads: "I have in this place considerably abridged the original, which offers a tedious display of anatomical observation neither instructive nor amusing."
- F This preface is original to Kāṣifī, though he obviously draws upon material found in the preface to previous versions as well as upon other sources.
- G This is the major chapter in which the two jackals, Kalīla and Dimna, appear; Dimna also appears in the following one.
- G5 Sayyid Aḥmad Ḥorasānī in 'Yak baḥṣ dar bāra-yi Kalīla-yi Bahrāmshāhī' (Dāniš 2(1330) pp.337-46) gives this story in Arabic along with his own Persian translation.
- G8 E.G. Browne (LHP II, pp.351-53) reproduces this tale from Ibn Muḳaffa' 's Arabic, Naṣrollāh 's and Kāṣifī 's Persian and John of Capua 's Latin.
- G21 Sir William Jones, in his A Grammar of the Persian Language (London, 1771; Menston, England, 1969), includes this tale in Persian (pp.105-9) and in English translation (pp.109-19). It is this translation which is reproduced by Eastwick.
- H This chapter almost certainly originated with Ibn Muḳaffa'. See KF, pp.xxviii-xxix; By I, p.298.
- I Several Arabic versions of this chapter are presented in translation and discussed by W. Norman Brown in 'A comparative translation of the Arabic Kalīla wa-Dimna, chapter VI.' Journal of the American Oriental Society 42(1922), pp.215-50. The individual tales appear as



follows: I1, p.218; I4, p.228; I5, p.230; I6, p.231.

- J6 Kāṣifī presents this tale in verse and 'Alī Çelebi follows suit in Turkish.
- L1 A.J. Arberry (CPL, pp.95-97) translates and compares the versions of Ibn Muḳaffa' and Naṣrollāh, including this tale and the next.
- M An abbreviated version of Kul Mes'ūd's Turkish rendering of this chapter is included by Fahir İz in his Eski Türk Edebiyatında Nesir (Istanbul, 1964) on pp.361-68.
- N3 Naṣrollāh includes this story in verse, apparently borrowing it from Sanā'ī.
- ~~R1~~ There is much variation in the names of the characters in the frame story to this chapter.
- S1 Kāṣifī considerably expands this frame story to facilitate the inclusion of more sub-tales.
- V Moḥammad Ca'far Maḥcūb (DBKD, pp.248-50) includes a Persian translation of this and the following chapter.
- W DBKD: W, p.251; W1, p.251; W2, p.259; W3, p.263. See also Theodor Nöldeke, Die Erzählung vom Mäusekönig und seinen Ministern. Gottingen, 1897.



APPENDIX C

EDITION OF MOHAMMAD B. 'ABDULLĀH AL-BOHĀRĪ'S

PERSIAN KALĪLA VA DIMNA

## INTRODUCTION

In Šafar 544 / June 1149 Moḥammad b. ʿAbdollāh al-Boḥārī presented a manuscript copy of his Persian Kalīla va Dimna to the court of Sayfo ʿd-Dīn Ġāzī b. ʿImādo ʿd-Dīn Zangī b. Ak Sonkor (541/1146-544/1149), the second Atabeg ruler of Mosul. This prose translation of ʿAbdullāh b. Mukaffa's Arabic Kalīla wa-Dimna had been carried out at the express command of the monarch (who died within months of its completion) because there were many at his court who were unable to appreciate the Arabic original.

It is doubtful that any copies of al-Boḥārī's manuscript were ever made, for nowhere is the work mentioned in any source, contemporary or otherwise. The records concentrate instead on Abū Maʿālī Naṣrollāh's Kalīla va Dimna-yi Bahrāmsāhī, completed several years previously in the Ghaznavid court of Bahrāmsāh (555/1160-582/1186), a work which would have totally eclipsed al-Boḥārī's translation among the scholars of the day. While the Ghaznavid version is written in an inspired and highly ornate style quite outstanding for its period, the Zangid rendering is unadorned, conversational and clearly provincial. The high Arabic content of Naṣrollāh's translation, moreover, stands in striking contrast to al-Boḥārī's use of only a few, generally more common, Arabic words.

The manuscript used in this edition, full details of which are given in the introduction to the thesis, is currently in the library of the Topkapı Museum in Istanbul, catalogued Y.Y.777 and dated 544/1149 as noted above. Given the dates of Sayfo ʿd-Dīn's short reign and the nature of the work, there is little

doubt that it is a unicum and, therefore, the copy presented to the Atabeg court. Its importance is severalfold, for it is a unique example of straightforward and un-ornamented provincial Persian prose reflecting the translator's background in Bokhara, the dialect of which was presumably that most familiar to him. The style of the work displays many of the characteristics one would expect to find in an orator or a story-teller, since the tales read as though being spoken to an audience. It is this simplicity and ease of expression which - especially when compared with Naṣrollāh's elaborate and intellectually demanding text - serves as some indicator of the lack of sophistication of the Atabeg court.

Finally, the date of the manuscript gives the work a special importance; it is the earliest extant manuscript of Kalīla wa-Dimna in any Islamic language, including Arabic. The manuscript employed by 'Abdu 'l-Wahhāb 'Azzām in his edition of the Arabic rendering is dated 618/1221-22 and is considered the oldest of its kind. Moctabā Mīnovī also used the oldest manuscript he knew as the basis for his edition of Naṣrollāh's translation; that copy is dated 551/1156-57. The manuscript of al-Boḥārī's Kalīla va Dimna is older than either of these and, as al-Boḥārī adhered much more closely to the Arabic original than did Naṣrollāh, it can be of great assistance in any attempt to determine more closely the exact nature of Ibn Mukaffa's own text which has become seriously corrupted over the years.

#### The edition.

With the exception of the regularization of such letters as  
ﻉ , ﺝ (both of which the MS occasionally gives three dots),

ع , د and ه (the latter only in instances where the MS writes د ), this edition follows the spellings and calligraphic foibles of the MS as closely as possible. The following letters and signs, therefore, are written only when and as the MS does:

the zāl-i mo'cam

hamza over alif

hamza, yā and alif-yā appearing at the end of

words terminating in a vowel or vowel

sound.

Uncertain readings are placed between parentheses ( ), while elements added by the editor to make sense of the text have been placed between square brackets [ ].

In the notes to the text (found at the end), numbers such as '7/12' would indicate that the entry applies to line twelve of the seventh page of the text, the page number referring to the Arabic script numeral at the foot of each page of the text. In addition, '(f.20b/15)' at the end of an entry indicates the location in the MS of the passage under discussion.

A table of contents for the edition may be found in the cross-index to the thesis, pp.220-27; there the column headed 'ZanG' indicates page numbers in this edition, the number referred to being the Arabic numeral at the foot of each page.

Abbreviations used in the notes are the same as those employed in the rest of the thesis, but the following additional works have also been used:

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Hava, Rev. J.G., An Arabic-English Dictionary. Beirut, 1915.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
الحمد لله الذي جعلنا من آل أبي طالب  
مريد المنصور المظفر المجاهد الذي  
رأى الإسلام طهيرا أمامه الأمان وطب الخلافة  
بني أحمد قسيم الدولة ناصر المظفر الذي

صاحب  
...  
ملك الامة

جاء المملوك عدة السلاطين فاه المتمردين  
مع الكثرة والتشكر نصرة المجاهدين حافظ نعم الله  
ثم المجد الى ممالك الشرق والغرب  
خسر ايران شهباز وارشاهان شاه الكرام المظفر  
اجل مصلان اناج قطع طغرلنا الملك المظفر  
عازي زكي ابي سنة فصول المظفر  
الحمد لله الذي جعلنا من آل أبي طالب

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

سپاس دهد و نشان ملا شاه را کی بر کار قدرت کرد نقطه و ابدت کردان کرد  
و در ایام حبل الی و عظمت خود را از دیدن دیده و هر طایفه نشان کرد تا هر یک کام  
طلب در میدان معرفت او بشناخت از نهایت معارف و عوالم مستی و معشای نشان یافت  
و هر که درین دایکتی فکر را پیش راند از جزایده حیرت جز قاصد حیرت بخورد  
ذات جمال او از تصور و خواطر و فکر دور و افهام و اوهام از تکلیف صفات او  
مبجور نیرد بقوم قمار از نشانه و الوهیت او نیست قدس باز داشته و بمثل  
عشق و چاریت او در سینه و موحدان بقلم سخن و تصدیق و تحقیق نگاشته عجب  
صنع او کردن نشان ضلالت را بگمداستند آن بارگاه معرفت او کشید و کشیده  
موجدان در حجره و توحید او بر فرشتان تقنین آوریده **فصل**  
عشر مجید را بیافزید و بر رفعت و عظمت بیاراست و لوح و قلم را با حاط و کانت  
ماکان و ماموکان بیاراست و افلاک دورانی را از علم در وجود کرد و ایوان  
خاص مقربان کرد کی عبارت عرش یاد کرد شد و اندرین ایوان نیک کن و از این برج  
برافراشت و مفت سپاه سالار بزرگ را احراست این ایوان نموداشت و صد  
هزار از دراری و کواکب فرمان بر می جا کردی ایشان گماشت و چهار طبایع را  
بر وجه نقیبی میای که در یکی گمندی در دست گرفته و لایذه نهاده تا خود سپاه سالاران  
جه فرمایند کی که از تحت فدکانی باطنی الدرجات رسانید و کراجم ناکامی زهر  
مکشاید و نقیبا بر قدم انظار است لایذه تا خود از حجره خاص مقربان جدا سازد  
کند و اصحاب حجره و خاص که خدمت کاری و مجاری بر میان بسته و جسم بر راه

قصا



باز موش سیاه کی شاخها و عمر او می برند و مرد بخیر و از غفلت را می برد و از خبر  
از اصلاح حال خود باز داند باز شهنش و تها و حشها و خوشیهای بی را از این انجام آن  
انوار نمی داند احزان گشایشها و دانش را بزان آورد کی بر هم آن قدم کی داشتم بای  
بیشتر دم و چشم بر منزلت نجباء افلدم و بقدر قوت و توانا و نیکوکاری شده کردم  
نام و کس و بوقت آنکه از جاده یار نامم جاده و باشد و آنکه کی از همه باز افهم هم راهی  
مساعدا یابم و از هند بار ششم کجها و حکمت بجا آورد و دل را بابت این مرد  
و از کتاب بر فایده تمام کرد

### سیری سدید استان بر ندوی حکیم و امیر و استان شیر و گاو

حسن آورد اندکی دیلم ملک هندوستان سید با حکیم را کی مهتر دانان و فیلسوفان بود  
حسن و اند و گفت می ند ها خوب مبارزادی و می ند ها و حکمت بر ما کسان از بودنی <sup>خواه</sup>  
کی از همه ما مثلی زنی و معاندی سید آنکی در میان دو دوست بگانه کی بزدکی در میان اسات  
راه یابد و دوستی ایشان دشمنی کردند و نزدیکی ایشان را دوری کرد سید با فیلسوف  
زبان بر کساد کی در است تلمذ دوستی ای که دور روی و سخن جز در روی راه یافت  
عداوت کرد و در صفاء کی تمام دست روی کرد و تیره کرد و او را مثالی با ذکر کم  
تار و شن تر شود جنین گویند کی در ویلای کی از را دستا بد گویند با در کانی <sup>است</sup> و  
همه در و کار و جمع دانش و مال بر بر و و از هر دو بهره وافر دست آورد و خد  
بر داشت چون نزل شد و خدمتی رسید به دست بکار بگذر و کساد و بلا  
خود خرج کردن کرد و بهیچکاری مشغول نمی گشتند کی در ویلای شدی





لحزانه كتب مولانا ولي النعم المالك العادل العام

المؤيد المنصور المظفر المجاهد عماد الدين

ركن الاسلام ظهير الامام مجير الانام قطب الخلافه

محيى العدل قسيم الدوله ناصر الملّه شرف الامّه

جلال الملوك عدّة السلاطين قاهر المتمردين

5

مع الكفره والمشرّكين نصره المجاهدين حافظ ثغور

المسلمين مغيث الجيوش فى العالمين

شمس المعالى ملك امراء الشرق والغرب امير

العافين پهلوان جهان

خسرو ايران شهريار توران شاهنشاه الشام الپ غازى

10

اج ارسلان اينانج قتلغ طغرلتيكين اتابك ابي المظفر

غازى بن زنگى بن اق سنقر نصير امير المؤمنين

أَعَزَّ اللَّهُ أَنْصَارَهُ وَضَاعَفَ إِقْتِدَارَهُ

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

5 سپاس و حمد و ثنا آن پادشاه را کی پرگارِ قدرت گردِ نقطه، ارادت گردان کرد  
و دریافتنِ جلال و عظمتِ خود را از دیدنِ دیده، هر طالبی نهان کرد تا هرک  
بکام طلب در میدان معرفت او بشتافت از نهایت معارف او بجز هستی هیچ  
نشان نیافت و هرکه درین دریا گشتی، فکرت را پیش راند از جراید حیرت جز  
قصایدِ حسرت نخواند ذات جمال او از تصورِ خواطر و فکر دور و افهام و اوهام  
از تکلیفِ صفات او مهجور تیرِ تدقیقِ مدققان از نشانه، الوهیت او بدستِ قدس  
باز داشته و تماثلِ عشقِ وحدانیت او در سینه، موحدان بقلمِ تحنّ و تصدیق  
و تحقیق بگاشته عجایبِ صنع او گردنِ کشانِ ضلالت را بکمند استدلالتِ بیارگاه معرفت  
10 او کشیده و سینه، موحدان در حجره، توحید او بر فرشِ یقین آرمیده .

### فصل

عرشِ مجید را بیافرید و برفعت و عظمتِ بیاراست و لوح و قلم را باحاطت و  
کتابتِ ما کان و ما هو کائن پییراست و افلاکِ دورانی را از عدم در وجود آورد  
و ایوانِ حجره، خاصِ مقربان کرد کی بعبارتِ عرش یاز کرده شد و اندرین  
15 ایوانِ نیل گون دوازده برج بر افراشت و هفت سپاهِ سالارِ بزرگ را بحراستِ این ایوان  
فرو داشت و صد هزار از دراری و کواکبِ بفرمانِ بری و چاکری، ایشان بر گماشت  
و چهار طبایع را بر وجهِ نقیسیِ بیای کرد هر یکی کمندی در دست گرفته و دیده  
نهازه تا خود سپاهِ سالاران چه فرمایند کی کرا بر تخت زندگانی باعلی الدرجات  
رسانید و کرا بجامِ ناکامی زهر فنا چشانید و نقبا بر قدم انتظار ایستاده تا خود  
20 از حجره، خاصِ مقربان چه اشارت کنند و اصحابِ حجره، خاصِ کمرِ خدمت کاری و  
بیچارگی بر میان بسته و چشم بر راه (f.2a) قضا و قدر نهازه تا بدست امر  
و نهی از حضرت عزّت چه ندا رسد گاه فرمان رسد کی -  
ای زحل، دست ادبار در دامنِ فلان بیچاره زن .  
و گاه ندا آید کی -

25 یا مشتری، کلاه اقبال بر سرِ فلان صاحب نه . ای مریخ، تیغِ قهر بر

کردن فلان بار خدای گردن افراز بیازمای . ای عطار ، در فطنت و درایت و عمل و کفایت بر خاطر فلان بگشای . ای زهره ، رخساره خود را بفنجان دلبری بیارای و پس بمصطفی طرب و نگ غم از دل فلان غمگین بزدای . ای سپاه سالار سیارگان و ای قبله نظارگان ، خلعت شرف در فلان مقبول پوشان . ای دستور با جمال و کمال ، گل لطافت بدست نوبخت بمجلس انس فلان برسان .

نقیب بپر . طلب ترقی می کند چون سپاه سالار افتد فرو ماند و سپاه سالار بر مرکب رغبت می دواند چون بمقربان رسد عنان اسب بدست حیرت بگرداند و مقرب همواره می خواند کی -

5

سُحْبَانَ مَنْ حَبَّبَ الطَّالِبِينَ عَنْ إِدْرَاكِ بَنُورِ عَظَمَتِهِ .

### فصل

10

زمین را مرکز پرگار و عالم اِثَار و میدان اظهار کرد و صد هزار گنج آراسته در وی بیدار کرد گاه گنج نبات را بر صحرا وجود عرض کرد و عروسان بهاری را در قِراطِقِ ملون جلوه کرد بعضی را بخواص مزین کرد تا صاحب فکر ازو عبرت می گیرند و بعضی بعد از او قوت مخصوص کرد تا اجسام حیوانات بدان قوت می پذیرد و بعضی درمان بیماران گشته و برخی نزهت گاه متنزهان شده و بعضی سر باوج عیوق بر کشیده و بعضی بر بساط تمهید و تمکین آرمیده .

15

### فصل

گاه رمه حیوانات را بزمان قهر در میدان اظهار آرد و نقش تمییز<sup>بقلم</sup> اختصاص ناصیه روزگار ایشان نگارد و از راه شم مصالح ایشانرا راه بدیشان نماید و بدیده ( ) دروازه مناهج مرادات بر ایشان بگشاید تا اگر هزار ( ) (f.2b) ( ) را تمییز بصر نبود و جز پشم بر سر مقام تحصیل نرود تا حدی کی همان گیاهی کی همه ساله سبب غذا و پرورش او باشد . اگر کسی از آن گیاه پاره بر راه او بنهد یا بپاشد ، از آن همچنان پرهیز کند کی از شیر غرنده یا از ببر دمنده . و معلومست کی رویاه زیرک جانوری است ، اما پاره چوب تنگ تراشیده را همچنان آهنگ کند کی سوی نان تنگ و تا نه روز و بوی نکند نداند کی چیست .

25

### فصل

و گاه جفاله پرندگانرا در هوا و فضا بر آرد و بخاصیت طبیعت ایشانرا در جو اَعلا بدارد و این ندا در دهد -

وَالصَّافَاتِ صَفًا فَالزَّاجِرَاتِ زَجْرًا .

و تمییز او بر راه ذوق نهاد چنانک اگر صد هزار دانه زیبا با سنگ سیاه بر آمیخته شود بهیچ حال ببصر شم تمییز نتواند کردن تا آنگاه کی بذوق تجربت نکند و منقار بر وی نزند . پس پرندۀ از دوات اربع بدرجتی کمتر آمدن کی آنرا تمییز شم و ذوق هست و از آن تمییز ذوق بود، آن شم نبود . 5

### فصل

و گاه جمع خزنده را چون ماهی و غیرش در غمرات بحار فراهم آرند و تمییز ایشان در لمس نهاد، کی همه ارباب تجارب اتفاق کرده اند کی او را تمییز جز بلمس حس نیست . و در سمعش گشاده است و او را از وی نصیب نه، و راه بصر هویدا و او را از آن هیچ بهره نه، و سبیل شم آماده و او را از وی هیچ خطی نه، 10 و خاست ذوق تمام و او را از وی قوت تمییز نه از بهر آنک او را طبقه درنده بیک درجه متقاعد است .

### فصل

و مقصود اعظم و غایت قصوی ازین نهاد و قاعده درجات (منخطه) و متصاعده جز این عالم صغیر نیست، کی هرچ بطریق بسیط و تکثیر در عالم کبیر 15 است و پیدا است، بطریق اختصار و تقدیر درین عالم صغیر مہیا است . سمعی کامل و بصری تمام و شمی شامل و ذوقی بنظام بلمسی مقرون، کی همه حیوانات در وی اشتراك دارند . سری بجای عرش ایستاده و سمعی بجای زحل قیام کرده . و بصری بجای مشتری، و شمی بجای مریخ، (f.3a) و لمسی بجای عطارد، و هوای بجای زهره، و گویای بجای ماه، و دانای بجای آفتاب . پشت او بجای دشت و قفار، 20 و شکم بجای غار، و رانهای او بجای کوهها، و پایها، او بجای درختان بزرگ، و دست او بجای درختان کوچک، و موی او بر مثال گیاه، و چشم و گوش و سایر منافذ بجای چشمها، و رگها بجای جویها، و دل بجای دریاها .

### فصل

بر نهادی نکاشته و بر طریقی نداشته، کی اگر همه عقلا عالم خواهند کی از نهاد 25 او یک قاعده بگردانند، اما بوجه کم کردن یا بوجه زیادت کردن نتوانند . چنانک مثلا دندانرا کی سر دندان پیشین تیز است، و اگر نه طعام را چگونه بریزی؟ و دندانها آخرین پهن است و اگر نه طعام چگونه آس کردی؟ و اگر زبان در بر نبودی، طعام در پیش او کی آوردی؟ و چون خورد شد، اگر رگها زبان در بر

وی نبودی، کی باندازه آب می دهد بخلق چگونه فرو شدی ؟ پس هر که درین قاعده و نهان خواهد کی تصرف کند هر چگونه کی کند از حد کمال بعد نقص باز آورده بوز . چنانک دست کی پنج انگشت دارد بر راه حکمت نهاده ببند و گشا ساخته و هر انگشتی بجای خود مهیا کرده بر نهانی کی اگر خواهد کرد و سلاح سازد و خواهد بهم آرد و مفرقه سازد و هیچ عاقلی را مجال و قدرت آن نه کی در وی تصرفی کند کی بهمه حال بنقص باز گردد .

### فصل

و اگر بدان مشغول شویم کی تشریح البدن باز گویم دراز گردد و خواننده را ملال افزاید . اما چون در ظاهر نهان آدمی نکته دو گفته شون در قوتها باطن او نیز فصلی ناچارست . معلوم باید کردن کی آدمی مرکبست از دو جوهر یکی لطیف و باطن کی آنرا نفس خوانند و یکی کثیف و ظاهر کی آنرا بدن گویند . و نفس عین صورت انسانیت است و بدن موضع اوست و آلت اوست . و همواره بر مثال چاکران بفرمان او می باشد و هرچ او فرماید بجای می آرد بر مثال سلاحی کی مرد تجارب بکار دارد (f.3b) و یا اداتی کی صانع بوی عمل کند . و این آلت بر دو قسم باشد متشابه الاجرا چون گوشک و رگ و پی و استخوان و الی اند چون سر و دست و شکم و جگر و دل و آنچ بدین ماند . و نفس بر سه نوع است یکی طبیعی کی مبداء او اندر جگرست و قوت او با آن روح کی از جگر آید و باندامها روز بروز و خون را غذا آلت گرداند و دوم را نفس حیوانی خوانند و روحی دیگر هست کی از دل خیزد قوت این نفس حیوانی خوانند و روح بوی بشری آنها باندامها روز و سوم را مدبیره خوانند و او را شرحی و بسطی تمامست . اما این جایگاه او نبود مختصر کرده آمد .

### فصل

پس چون حق - عز و علا - این آدمی را باین صفات کمال و بخصال جمال بدیندار آورد و کلاه معرفت و آشنا بر سر وی نهاند و هر گاهی شخصی را در حله جلوه گرداند چنانک جمشید را بجهان بانی مخصوص کرد کی در ثبات ممالك و کمال دولت و جمال مشاهدت بوی مثل زنند . و افرا سیاب را برای و تدبیر و کار شناسی مرقوم کرد تا احوال او نیز درین باب مثل گشت . و رستم را بشجاعت و دل آوری مرسوم کرد تا هرچ شجاعت شجاعان بوز از شجاعت وی جزوی نیامد . و نوشروان عادل را بدان و عدل و انصاف بجای رسانید کی سید اولین و آخرین

بروزگار او ( تَبَّح ) کرد و گفت -

وَلَدْتَ فِي زَمَنِ مَلِكٍ عَادِلٍ .

و سبحان وایل را در فصاحت و بلاغت بر مقامی ( راست ) که فصحاء عالم  
متحسر مقام او آمدند . و احنف فیس را در حلم و بردباری نشانه جهانی  
کرد . و حاتم طی را در سخاوت و جود بجا رسانید کی دست او با ابر و آفتاب  
برابری کرد . 5

### فصل

حکماء عالم را تاج عقل بر سر نهاد و دست ایشان بدو گونه تصرف بر گشاد نا گاه  
بعلم و فطنت از اسرار عالم آگاه شدند بپیر همت در عالم علوی پرواز کرد و تصرف  
ثابت و سیار بر دست گرفت . و از منازل مراتب ایشان آگاهی یافت و از درج 10  
و دقائق و ثوانی و ثوالت و سعد و نحس و تربیع و تثلیث ( f.4a ) و تسدیس و  
اقتران و مقابله و استقامت و رجوع و هیبت و شرف و احتراق و سجااف و طلوع  
و اختلاف و خسوف و کسوف این ( میرات ) خبر داد . پس ریزه دل ( به  
استقصات ) افکند . و دست تصرف بساحت شناخت ایشان دراز کرد و از طعم  
و طبع و رنگ ایشان آگاه گشت که آتش زرد و تلخ است و گرم و خشک و مادّات 15  
صفرا ازوست . و هوا شیرین و سرخست و گرم و نرم است و مادّات خون ازوست .  
و آب سپید و شورست و سرد و تر است و مادّات رطوبت ازوست . و خاک  
سیاه و ترش است و سرد و خشک است و مادّات سودا ازوست . و خاک چون  
متصاعد گردن آب شود و آب چون متصاعد شوند بطریق لطافت هوا گردن و  
هوا چون متصاعد شوند بجوهر آتش الحاق کند . 20

پس ازین جایگاه فرو گذشت و بتصرف نبات و احجار مشغول گشت و با هر یکی  
ازین جمادات و نامیات بگت و بشنید نه بزبان عبارت بل کی بطریق تجربت  
غذا از وی جدا کرد و سرد از گرم منفصل کرد و تر از خشک پیدا کرد ،  
و متقارب الطبیعه از متباین بر نمود و فاعل را از منفعل در درجه شرح  
داد . و در احجار بدیده درایت بنگرید و سرّ هر یکی بجا آورد و بطریق 25  
تکلیس گاه از سنگ آب گینه استخراج کرد و گاه آهن بیرون آورد و گاه نقره ساخت  
و گاه زر کرد . اجساد احجار از ارواح جدا کرد و خواص هر یکی را شرح باز  
داد کی از آنچ بتحقیق و گفت هیچ بیش و کم نبایست و نشایست و کمال قوّت  
آدمی بجای رسید کی حیوانات عالم را گاه بصولت و بحیلت مقهور خویش کرد تا



فیل با عظمت را خواست مبارزت فرمود و خواست حمّالی، و شیر با صولت را با سلسله و بند کسید، خواست سیر داشت و خواست گرسنه. و گاو با قوّت را بطاعت بجای رسانید، کی استخراج غذا و قوّت خود بر گردن وی نهاد.

و روباه پر حیل را (بپند) و دستان (f.4b) در دام خود آورد و دره‌ها مکر و حیل را از وی بر خود روشن کرد. و از پرندگان عالم گاه غذا ساخت و گاه خنیاگر و گاه آلت تماشا و شکار. و آنگاه توفیق آتش داند، کی زبان شکر بر گشاد و گفت -

پاکا خدایا و سبحانا ملکا، کی مستی خاک را بزدین کمال داند رسانیدن و این لباس تواند پوشانیدن.

### فصل

پس چون این اقوام منقرض شدند و ازیشان جز نامی هیچ نماند، عالمیان اوصاف ایشان از کتب بر خواندند؛ بتعجب بماندند، کی این معانی در محلی فانی ظلمانی چگونه ممکن بود؟ حق سبحانه و تعالی مر تصدیق این احوال را از مشرق جلال آفتاب کمال و جمال خدایگان، ملک عادل عالم، مؤید، منصور، مظفر، عماد الدین، رکن الاسلام، ظهیر الامام، مفیث الانام، صفوه الخلافه، محی العدل، قسیم الدوله، قوام الطّه، فخر الامّه، محیّر الملوك، شرف السلاطین، قاهر المتمرّدين، قانع الکفره و المشرکین، نصره المجاهدین، غیاث الجیوش فی العالمین، حامی ثغور المسلمین، امیر العراقین، ملک امراء الشرق والغرب، خسرو ایران، شهریار توران، شاهنشاه الشام، پهلوان جهان، اج ارسلان، الپ غازی، اینانج قتلغ طغرلتکین اتابک، ابو المظفر غازی بن زنگی بن اق سنقر نصیر امیر المؤمنین - اَعَزَّ اللهُ اَنْصَارَهُ وَضَاعَفَ اِقْدَارَهُ - بر آورد و جهانرا بنور اقبال او مشرف و مزین کرد، و مبادی حال را از عالم افضال او باواز آورد کی -

هرک مُلک جمشیدی و رایی افراسیابی و شجاعت رستمی و عدل نوشروانی و فصاحت سبحانی و حلم احنفی و سخاوت حاتمی ندیده است، بیایید و بارگاه مرا ببینید.

با صدق صدیقی و صلابت فاروقی و حیا (عثمانی) و علم مرتضای و خلق حسنی و حسینی در میان ملوک ملکی یکنه و در سواران بمبارزی مردانه و در علما عالمی فرزانه با این معانی و معالی، همت اورا باعث کشت تا بساط مجد بکسترانید و در حجره جود و سخا باز گشاد، خزاین خود را بر علما و فضلا و



زهد و صلحا و عباد و اتقيا (f.5a) و زوار و شعرا وقف کرد تا هيچ کسی  
بر مرکبِ نیازمندی بدرگاه عالی، وی نرسید. الا کی پای بسرای، اومیدواری باز  
آورد و سر بسالین آسایش و راحت باز نهاد. لطافت خُلق او بجای رسید کی  
آفتاب جمال از روی او می تابد و ماه کمال از درج و دقائقِ جبینِ ازهر وی روی  
می نماید. و طیبِ عنصرِ پاک و سعادت سرشت شریف او در مقامی فرو آمد،  
5 کی عالمیان در وی مختلف شدند. قومی گفتند کی -  
خدايان همه جان لطيف است و هيچ بدن کثيف نه.  
و جماعتی گفتند کی -

او جوهرِ خرد (جملگی) است و کانِ عقلِ کلی است.  
10 و گروهی گفتند کی -

مبدأ، انوارست و منشأ، اسرارست.  
درر معالی و مراتب در درجِ آلاء او مظهر و جواهر امانی در درجِ علاء او  
مضمّر. سرای او قبله، اومید و اقبال گشته و کفّ او بَيْتُ الْمَعْمُورِ افصال  
گشته. آستانه، سرای او مَفْنِاطِيسِ لَبِّ مَلُوكِ شده، گردِ سمِ اسبِ او توتیا، دیده،  
15 شجعانِ عرب و عجم گشته، تا رایتِ جود او بدیدار آمدن نام بخل بر هيچ (اُفتی)  
نگذشت و تا موکب سهم او ظاهر شد نا ایمنی از جهان بر خاست.

### فصل

و هر چند کی این حضرت عالیه - لَا زَالَتْ مُشْرِقَهُ - و سَدَّتْ مَطْهَرَهُ - لَا زَالَتْ  
مُجَبَّلَهُ - از ازدهام علما و فضلا و اکابر و سادات خالی نبود خادم بارگاه شریف  
20 محمد بن عبدالله (البخاری) را بر گزید و از جمله خواص گردانید و بدرجه،  
رسانید کی محسودِ ایناءِ جنسِ خویش گشت و هر اندیشه، کی در باب دنیا بون از  
خاطر خادم خویش بر گرفت، تا بدان پرداخت کی گوی، تصنیف در میدان  
استنباط (ساخت)، و چند کتاب در هر بابی از علوم بنام این پادشاه بزرگ  
- عَزَّ نَصْرُهُ - کرده شد. و اعتماد آنک درین آخر زمان ضیاعِ علم حاصل  
25 نشود جز بر همت عالیه - لَا زَالَتْ عالیه - نبود، از بهر آنک هر تصنیفی کی کرده  
آمد از فرایض و کلام و شرایع و احکام جز قطره، نبون از دریای علوم این  
مجلس شریف - زُيِّدَ شَرَفًا - و جز ذره، نبود از عالم (f.5b) مقهور این  
بارگاه رفیع - زُيِّدَ رَفْعَةً وَجَلَالًا -

### فصل

تا روزی خادم در تَقَلُّبِ نعم مولانا ولی النعم - کی جهان بی او مباد و  
ساحت کمال او از عین الکمال در حرز الاهی باز و دریا، طبع او پیوسته بجواهر  
محامد موج باز و ابر بقاء او بامطار ابدیت شجاج باز - می نازید کی  
اشارت مجلس عالی منعمی - لَا زَالَتْ مَاضِيهِ مَطَاعَةٌ مُفْتَتِلَةٌ - برسید  
و خادم را پیش خویشتن خواند و کلاه قربت بر سر خادم نهاد و بلباس تشریف  
تن خادم را آفرین کرد . و پیش تخت عالی - اَعْلَاهُ اللَّهُ - بنشاند و زبان در  
افشانرا بر گشاد و گفت کی -

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این کتاب کلیله و دمنه گنجی است پر حکم و مواعظ و امثال، و در هر  
حکایتی صد هزار درّ فواید و عواید مضمون است . و هر چند کی  
همت ساعده و سدت ساعده، ما را بشرح حاجت نیست بعضی از  
پیوستگان مجلس رفیع ما آرزو کرده اند، کی این کتاب از زبان تازی بزبان  
پارسی نقل کرده شوند و نزدیکان حضرت و بیعت ما با عبارت تو خو  
کرده اند . اگر روزی چند روی باین کار آوری، همانا کی پند و حکمت این  
کتاب را نفع شاملتر باشد .

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خادم قدم امثال بر بساط فرمان بری نهاد، و هر چند کی خاطر در زیادت بسی  
باری می دان اما بر موجب فرمان عالی - اَعْلَاهُ اللَّهُ - بر عین کتاب اختصار  
کرده آمد و توفیق انعام را توکل بر درگاه جلال ایزدی - عَزَّ اَسْمُهُ -  
کرده شد . إِنَّهُ عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرٌ .

داستان بُرزی پزشك کی كتاب کلیلہ و دمنہ از هندوستان چگونه آورد

بدانك حقّ - سُبْحَانَهُ وَ تَعَالَى - هر چیزی را سببی و علّتی نهاده است و بر  
آمذن هر کاری را آغازی و انجامی پدید کرده است؛ تا هنگام وی بر دست هر  
کسی از بندگان خود چنانك خواهد بر آورد (f.6a) و روزگار دولت و ایّامِ عمرِ  
خود را بدان مخصوص گرداند . 5

چنین آورده اند کی سببِ نسخت این باب و آوردن وی از هندوستان کی سوی دیار  
پارس و ممالك ایران آوردند آن بود کی حقّ - عَزَّ وَ عَلَا - الحام دان نوشروان  
بن قباد را و در دل او افکند تا نسخه بفرمودن کردن کتاب کلیلہ و دمنہ را و آوردن  
از هندوستان از آنك او از جمله ملوک پارس بفضل و رزانت و حکمت و امانت  
و عدل و صیانت بر گذشته بوز، و پیوسته کار وی آن بوزی کی با حکما و علما 10

مجالست کردی و از روزگار ایشان فواید بر داشتی و حرص او همواره بر کار  
( به ) بوزی کی در خیر و صلاح گشایی؛ و هیچ تحفه بنزدیک وی از آن مقبول تر  
نبودی کی کسی دری از حکمت پیش دل وی باز کردی کی آن او را وسیلتی شذی  
بدان نیک از بد بدانستی و سوز از زبان جدا کردی و میان دوست و دشمن  
فرق کردی؛ و غرض بیشتر وی از کارشناختن و دانش طلب کردن وی آن بوزی کی 15  
تا رعیت را کی حقّ - جَلَّ جَلَالُهُ - بوی سپرده است چگونه نگاه دارد و وقت  
خشم و سیاست از هنگام شفقت و بردباری باز داند تا بدین سر کسی انگشت بر  
خللی ننهد و بدان سر از عتاب و عقاب برهد .

پس این ملك انوشروان با این خصال ستوده از فضل و بها و علم و سخا و  
مجد و ثنا آراسته بوز، و آن نبود جز سعادت الهی و رشدی ربّانی؛ و 20  
خداوندان تجربت چنان گفته اند کی -

هیچ کسی را از ملوک متقدّم چندانی محامد نبوده است کی او را، و  
آن تیزفهمی و روشن خاطری و کمال عقلی و نافذ فکرتی هدیه بوز کی بوی  
دانه بوزند . و بر این کمال جهان زیر فرمان آورد و ملوک او را گردن  
بنهادند و بیزرگی و مملکت او اقرار بدانند . 25

ذَلِكَ فَضْلُ اللَّهِ يُؤْتِيهِ مَنْ يَشَاءُ

پس روزی در صدر مملکت و جمال سلطنت نشسته بود کی اورا خبر دادند کی -  
 بهندوستان کتابی ساخته اند و حکما وقت و پیش روان دانش و زیرکان  
 روزگار بزبان اشارت حکمتها بلیغ و پندها مفید و شکفتنها غریب  
 (f.6b) در احوال دام و دز و خزنده و پرند و رونده جرند و مضمر  
 کرده اند، از آنج عقلا را از آن چاره نبود و ملوک را از آن نگریزد و  
 خردمندان را از هر سخنی حکمتی حاصل شوند . و چون ملوک در وی  
 نظر کنند، از وی زندگانی کردن با هر کسی بدانند و شرط ادب را و رای و  
 تدبیر و نهان کار دولت و آراستن راستی و نظام قاعده ملک از وی  
 بجای آرند .

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چون این سخن بر رای نوشروان عرض کردند از سر حرصی کی اورا در تحصیل  
 دانش ایستاده بود این اندیشه را در خاطر جای کرد و دل با این فکر داند کی -  
 این کتاب در خزانه کتب ما بایستی بوزی، کی از فواید او بهره مند گشتیمی،  
 و در این صدف بغواصی فکر بچنگ آوریم، و عقد دانش خود را از وی  
 واسطه ساختیمی، و تاج حکمت خود را بجواهر او مرصع کردیمی .  
 مگر توفیق بکار داشتن یافتیمی تا راه آخرت ما بوی عمارت پذیرفتی و  
 کل هدایت بمصالح احوال در دل ما بشکفتی .  
 چون این اندیشه در دل وی قرار گرفت و عزم بر بچنگ آوردن این کتاب درست کرد،  
 اندیشه بر گماشت کی -

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این کاری بزرگ است و شغلی معظّم، و مرا ازین حال غصّه عظیم  
 در دل کی، چرا باید کی این کتاب بزرگوار و پرفایده ملوک هند را ازو فایده  
 بود و ملوک پارس ازو بی بهره باشند ؟ و من بهیچ حال این کار فرو  
 نگذارم اگرچه درین کار رنجها صعب است و مخاطره راهست تا آنگاه کی  
 بدست آوردم، و در نهانی او تاءمل کنم، و حکما را فراهم نشانم، و داند  
 فطنت از مشکلات او بستانم، و از منافع او بهره بر گیرم، و نظر

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خردمندان منم، کی در وی چه دیده اند و خداوندان گنج عقل درین  
 کتاب چه اسرار نهاده اند و در وی از چه زجر کرده اند ؟ و هم چنانکه  
 ملوک هند را این فضل و شرف حاصل شد، ملوک عجم را بواسطه جهد  
 من این فایده حاصل گردن تا هر کی در وی نظر کند و بفرمان او کار

کند، و بزواجِ وی پند گیرند، و در عجایب او تامل کند، و خیری از وی بر دست دارند و از شری دست کوتاه کند، (f.7a) و از درخت (برومند) او میوه باز کند، و از صدفِ پر لؤلؤ، او گوهری بدست آرد، و ادعای کند کی خانه خیرت من آبادان گردن و نام نیک من در میانه خلق جاویدان بماند، چه هیچ گنجی بنزدیک بزرگان عزیزتر و گرامی تر از نام نیک نیست . و هرک خواهد کی آویزگاهی یابد کی روز درماندگی، او را فریاد رسد بروی باز، کی یازگاری، نیک باز گذاردن کی معاملات مرد بنیک و بد یازگار مرد بود .

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چون این قاعده در دل او مقرر گشت و این رای در خاطر او محرر شد،

10 گفت -

این کار را کسی شاید کی ازین دو طبقه یکی باشد: یا حکیمی بود بفطنت آراسته و یا دبیری بود رنج برده، کی این دو گروه مردانی باشند بدانش و آهستگی و بزرگی و بردباری و خویشتن داری و ادب نفس و بزرگ دلی و روشن همتی و تیزبینی و رازداری و چاره سازی و بی ملالی، مخصوص . و هر چند در بزرگان دولت و ارکان ملکت خویش نظر کرد، هیچ کس را شایسته تر از بُرزوی پزشک ندید، کی پسرِ آذر هرمز رئیس بزرگان و پزشکان پارس بود، و در اصل وی مبارزان بزرگ و جنگ آوران سترگ بسیار بودند . کسری ملک بفرستان و او را بخواند، و درین باب با وی سخن راند و بُرزوی را گفت که -

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ما ترا بر گزیدیم از بهر آن دانشی و خردی کی از تو دیدیم، و بدیده فراست در تو نگاه کردیم . چنان می دانیم کی دیده، ما خطا نباشد . باید کی جهد و جدّ خویش بجای آری و حصافت برگ خویش بسازی، کی ما ترا بجای خواهیم فرستادن کی آن کار در دل ما قدری بزرگ دارد، و خاطر ما بدان کار باز نشسته است . و اگر آن کار بدست تو بر آید و

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کردار تو با اندیشه ما برابر آید، ما پایگاه ترا بلند گردانیم و رنج تو ضایع نکنیم و بعتا و صلت خشنودی، دل تو بجویم . باید کی دست جهد از آسانین جدّ بیرون آری و روی بهندوستان نهی و کتاب کلیله و دمنه را سخت بر گیری، کی ما را رغبتی صادق در استفادت آن عجایب کی در آن کتابست ایستاده است . (f.7b) و چون بدست آورده باشی، قاصدی بما فرستی کی ما را آگاه کند، و مترصد می باشی تا خود رای ما چه اقتضا

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کند و چه فرماییم . و نگر تا شتاب زندگی نکنی و از کار ملال نگیری، کی -  
هر آنک در کار ملال آوز و شتاب زندگی کند، بمراد نرسد .  
و تا در طلب باشی فروتنی را کار فرمای و گردن کشی مکن، کی -

مردم فروتن را دوست کم نیاید و متکبر را دشمن بسیار بود .  
5 پس برزوی خدمت کرد و شاه را دعا و آفرین گفت، و در بذرفت کی هرچ ممکن  
بود بجای آرد و از طاقت هیچ باقی نگذارد . کسری بفرمود تا او را صد هزار درم  
نقره بدانند از بهر نفقات راه، و از هر گونه طرایف و تحفها و هدیهها بساخت .  
و برزوی برک راه راست کرد و روزی نیک و ساعتی سعد اختیار کرد؛ و روی  
بهندوستان نهاد و منزل بمنزل بحزم و احتیاط برفت تا بمقصد خویش  
10 رسید .

چون بنزدیک شهر آمد، جامه بگردانید و بزئی کسی بر آمد کی خبر جوی باشد .  
و ساخت با دانان و بزرگان و متقدمان آشنا کردن تا در میان ایشان معروف  
شد و دلها ایشان بظرافت و لطافت بخون مایل کرد، و از آن طرایفی کی برده بود  
هر کسی را می داد؛ تا کار بجا رسید کی سخن وی پیش ملک هند بگفتند و او را  
15 پیش خدمت پانزده بردند . در آمد و سلامی بآیین و آفرینی خوب و دعا  
بواجب بر شرط ادب بجا آورد چنانکه سزاوار ملوک باشد . ملک را از فصاحت  
و بلاغت و ادب وی خوش آمد و او را جوابی خوش باز داد، و نزدیک خویشتن  
خواند و او را از حال وی باز پرسید کی -

تو کیستی و از کجائی ؟

20 جواب داد کی -

من از علماء ولایت پارسم .

ملک گفت کی -

اینجایگاه بچه کار آمده ای ؟

گفت -

25 باومید آن آمده ام، کی از علم بهره ای بدست آرم و از علماء این ولایت  
فایده بر دارم کی مرا چنین خبر داده اند، کی درین ولایت دانائی  
بسیارند . و از دان و عدل و جود و سخا ملک بسیار شنیده ام .  
بیامده ام تا خون را در پناه ملک بیپرورام و (f.8a) جانرا بدانش  
زنده گردانم .

شاه هند گفت کی -

مردم پارس همواره جویای دانش بوزه اند و مرد را جز بعلم نستوده اند .  
و ما را بدانش تو خوش است . در پناه ما می باش و دل قوی دار  
کی ما ریزه رعایت از تو نگردانیم و دست عنایت از سر تو بر نگیریم .  
5 برزوی پز شک شاه را دعا کرد و برون رفت . و همان قاعده کی داشت بر دست  
گرفت از مراعات علما و نگاه داشت صحبت حکما . و هر جا کی او را از دانا  
خبر داندی قصد وی کردی و پیورش دوستی او مشغول گشتی باومید آنک  
بمقصد برسد . با خوز گفت کی -

مرا چاره آنست ، کی خوز را بدانش معروف کنم و باین قوم باز نمایم کی  
همچنانک من محتاجم بدانش ایشان ، بهر ( حال ) ایشان نیز از من  
10 مستغنی نیستند .

و خوز را مظفر نام کرد . و بس روزگار بر نیامد کی در میان بزرگان بعلم و  
عقل و خرد و ادب معروف و مشهور شد و علماء هند روی سوی وی نهادند و  
دل و جان بصحبت وی بدانند ، و او یکی از ایشان گشت . و روز و شب در ظاهر  
و باطن وی هیچ فکری و اندیشه نبودی الا حسن کتاب کلیله و دمنه . تا روزی کی  
15 در مجمعی نشسته بود و در باب دانش سخنی می رفت ، یکی بوی نمودند کی -  
این کتاب کی تو طلب می کنی بنزدیک وی یابی .

برزوی روی بمراعات وی آورد و صحبت او بر دست گرفت و دل او را بتلطّف و  
مردمی پر بود . چون صحبت ایشان مستحکم گشت و قاعده اتحاد ایشان  
20 استقامت گرفت ، این هندو روی ببرزوی کرد و گفت کی -  
می خواهم کی مرا از حال خویشتن آگاهی دهی ، کی آموذن را این جایگاه  
سبب چیست ؟

برزوی گفت کی -

من بکاری آمده ام و غربت را بر وطن اختیار کرده . اما مرا کسی  
می باید کی سینه وی نهان راز را بشاید و بوجه ( دانش دری  
25 عرش ) گشاید ، کی مقصود من حاصل آموذ و در حاجت من ایستادگی  
نماید .

چون هندو این سخن بشنید گفت -

اگر ترا حاجتی باشد کی در آن بر من اعتماد کنی ، همانا کی از من در

آری، تو تقصیر و تهاون نیفتد . (f.8b)

برزوی ازین سخن شان گشت، گفت -

چنان می‌نماید کی این بند را گشاد کی خواهد بوزن .

چون از آن مجمع برخاستند برزوی از آن هدیها و طرایف، کی کسری با وی هم

5 راه کرده بوز، بر داشت و بندیک وی رفت و حاجت خود بر وی عرض کرد . مرد

هندو در دل گفت کی -

دعوی بی معنی بکار نیاید؛ چون من بر قضا، حاجت او قادرم، از دادن

این کتاب چاره نیست .

پس گفت -

ای مظفر، چون تو این حاجت بمن برداشتی و راز دل خویش پیش

10 من برگشادی، هر چند کی مرا معلوم شده است ادب و عقل و فضل و

حلم و تمامی، تو . اما از سخنی، چند بر طریق حکمت یاز کردن، چاره

نبود . بدانک مردم را بچند خصلت بشاید شناخت . گوش دار تا من

شرح دهم و باز بنایم

اول باید کی بحکمت و مروت آراسته بوز . و دوم باید کی بحزم و احتیاط

15 از غفلات پرهیز کار بوز . و سیم باید کی نصیحت از خلق دریغ ندارد و

در طاعت حق تقصیر نکند . چهارم باید کی جای راز نهان، خود را

بشناسد تا راز پیش کسی گشاید کی برابر جان نگاه دارد، و در وقت

رضا و خشم و دوری و نزدیکی در نگاه داشتن راز یکسان بوز . و پنجم

آنک چون بدر سرای ملوک قصد کند، راهی بر دست گیرز کی عقلا چون در

20 وی نگرند بر وی انکار نکنند . و ششم آنک در کار خود رازدار بوز . و

هفتم آنک هوای خود را زیر پای آرز و زبان خود را از آنچه در وی سوزی

نبوز نگاه دارند . و هشتم آنک چون با بزرگان و اصحاب خرد صحبت کند

ادب مجالست بجای آرز و عنان زبان بدروغ فرو نگذارد، کی -

دو روی و دروغ گوی را آب روی نبود .

این هشت عادت پسندیده هر جایگه کی فراهم آمد آرایشی دهد، کی

آلایش را بوی راه نبود و ستایشی حاصل کند، کی هیچ نکوهشی بوی باز نگرند .

و من این هشت چیز در تو، کی مظفری، می بینم . لاجرم مرا بدان

آورده است کی این حاجت تو روا کنم، و بیخ این اندیشه از خاطر تو بر



کنم . اما بدان کی مرا از دادن این کتاب بتو خاطری' (f.9a)  
عظیم است و بتن و جان بیم است . و با این همه باز داشتی نیست .  
چون برزوی این سخن بشنید ، در حال بدانست کی قفل حاجت او را کلید بدیدار  
آمد و کار او تمام گشت و حاجت او روا شد . شانزده شد و زبان بر گشاد و  
فرا هندو گفت کی -

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سپاس و منت خدای را کی ظن من در تو خطا نگشت و فراست من  
در باب تو کز نیامد ، کی اگر نه آن بوی کی من بنظر اول کی در تو  
نگاه کردم مرا از مردمی و بزرگ همتی تو و کمال خرد و دانش تو  
معلوم گشت ، کی این پند جز بر دست تو گشاده نشود و این کار جز بدست  
تو بر نیاید . من خوز این راز بر تو نگشادمی و ترا از احوال خوز  
خبر ندادمی ، کی بزرگتر سرمایه کی بدان بنا زند و عزیزتر صفتی کی بزرگان  
بدان گردن افرازند مردم شناسی است ، کی نه هر کسی دلی دارد کی آنرا  
شاید کی گنج اسرار بوز . و ازینجا بوز کی خردمندان راز را بکوه مانند  
کردند و گفتند -

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همچنانک کوه را هر بانی از جای نبرد و هر زوری نجبناند ، باید کی  
راز را هیچ غمی و شادی ا' بصحرا نیارد .

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پس بعد امروز پشت من ، در کارها و یار من در بر آوردن مرادها ، جز  
تو کسی دیگر نبود و نخواهد بوز ، و دل من باین بار قوی شد کی مراد  
من تمام گشت .

هندو گفت کی -

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بزرگان نگاه داشتن راز بشیشه مانند کرده اند و در غلاف بوز و سنگی در  
مقابل وی بوز ، تا مادام کی در غلاف باشد ، از سنگ ایمنی بود ، چون از  
غلاف بدر آورند ، آن ایمنی ببیم بدل گردن . و مردی کی دروغ گوید  
باعتقاد آنک باشد کی ندانند همچنان باشد ، کی آسمانرا کی ابر دارد  
جای جای و برخی گشاده ، آنگاه یکی گوید کی -

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آسمان همه ابر دارد .

هر کی در نگر او را دروغ او معلوم شود . و مرد عاقل آن باشد کی  
باعتقاد آنک بر بی خردان پوشیده ماند ، دروغ نگوید .

و من امروز در دو کار نموده ام ، چون در دوستی و مردمی و لطافت و

یگانه دلی، تو نگاه می کنم الا بر آوردن مراد تو هیچ روی نیست . و چون  
بفرمان این پادشاه (f.9b) و سیاست سهم او می نگرم، از دادن این  
کتاب سخت می ترسم و اندیشه مند می باشم، از بهر آنک این پادشاه از  
اندک مایه بی فرمانی از جای برون، و خاطر او چون خراشیده گشت بروزگار  
دراز بحدّ عمارت باز آید . و تا این کتاب بمن سپرده است بدفعات  
وصیت کرده است و حجت بر گرفته، کی نباید کی هیچ کسی این کتاب را  
بیند . و بهمه حال اگر این کار آشکارا گردن، مرا بیم جان بوز و هیچ  
خویشی و دوستی مرا فریاد نرسد .

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حکیم برزوی جواب داد کی -

تو مردی حکیمی و خاطری روشن و صافی داری . بهمه حالی ترا  
رازداری و پیش بینی، من معلوم گشته بوز، و دانی کی این قدر بر من  
پوشیده نگردن، کی هیچ خصلتی از رازداری و پیش بینی بهتر نیست خاصّه  
در کاری کی اگر آشکارا شوند، از مراد خویش باز مانم و آنچ خود ضایع  
گردانم . اکنون حاجت روا کردن و شانمانه گردانیدن من بفرمان خدای  
عَزَّ وَجَلَّ - بر تو است و راز نگاه داشتن تو بیاری، ایزد - عَزَّ  
وَجَلَّ - بر من است . پس تو میندیش و دل خوش دار، کی چنان  
سازم کی اگر این کار از دل خویش نگاه باید داشت بگوشم و از خاطر  
و همت خویش بپوشم . و چنان دانم کی تو ازین کار پشمان نگردی و  
انجام این کار بجای رسد، کی از آغاز خوشتر بوز و نهایت آن از بدایت  
لطیف تر آید . و این کار بهر دو سرای پر اومید<sup>باشند</sup> و ترا این ( جوانمردی )  
روزی بر آید و در نیکوتر جمالی روح بتو نماید .

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چون حکیم هندوانرا دل باین سخنها مطمئن گشت و همتش بگفت، وی آرام  
گرفت، کتاب بیاورد و بوی سپرد . برزوی حکیم دل بر کار نهاد و شب تا روز بار  
کرد و جا، خالی بدست آورد کی هیچ کسی را بر آن اطلاع نیفتازی، و این کتاب  
با چند پاره، کتاب دیگر کی خاصّ و عام را و پادشاه و رعیت را در نگاه داشتن  
راه راست و دور بوزن از جمله، مذمومات و نزدیک بوزن بذانچ بحق نزدیک  
گرداند، بکار آید . سخت باز گرفت و قاصدی را راست کرد و قاصدی را بر  
موجب استطلاع (f.10a) بدرگاه خسرو فرستاد، و گفت بهمت عالی، خسرو -  
آنچ مراد بوز بانعام مقرون گشت و بنده مترصد فرمانست تا کمر

25

امتنال بر میان بندد و بخدمت پیوند .

کسری در حال جواب فرستاد و چنان فرمود، کی -

باید کی در آمدن شتاب نمای و بسیر، تعجیل سوی درگاه ما آی .

چون فرمان آنوشروان بوی رسید و رخصت باز گشتن در آن مثال بدید، کار راست کرد و عزم درست گردانید و روی بحضرت خسرو آورد . چون از راه دراز باز 5

گشت و اختر سفر بنقطه اراک رسیده و محل اقامت استقامت گرفت و

درخت کاشته، اومید بمیوه، نجاح باز گرفت و گل کام روای او در باغ تعب

بشگفت، روزی دو بر آسود. پس کتابها بر داشت و بدرگاه رفت و فرمان خواست؛

و در رفت و بوجه خدمت پشت دو تاه کرد و بشرط دعا اقامت نمود .

چون سر بر داشت ملك نوشروان در وی نگاه کرد . مردی دید سر سپید 10

کرده و تنش ضعیف گشته و سپیدی بمحاسن راه یافته، رنگ بوی بگشته . نشان

رنج بر وی ظاهر شده گرد غربت بر تارک حال او نشسته . دل کسری بر وی

بسوخت؛ دانست کی این تغییر احوال وی الا از سر رنجی، تمام نیست و تعبی،

بلیغ کشیده است و جد و جهدی، بی اندازه بجای آورده، و رنج غربت او را فرو

شکسته است . روی سوی وی کرد و گفت - 15

مزدۀ بازت، ای بنده، فرمان بردار و ای چاکر طاعت گزار . از من

پادشاه مزدگانی ده خویشان را کی در ضمن وی بر خورداری بوز . دل

شان دار و خاطر از اندیشه آزاد دار کی عنایت ما در باب تو بجا، رسید

کی فراتر از آن هیچ غایتی نبود، و از ما آن چشم دار کی اندیشه، تو بدان

نرسد . 20

پس سوگند یاز کرد، کی -

ما دست تو بر خزاین خوند گشاده کردیم تا هرچ مراد تست بر داری و

هرچ بدیده، تو در آید، ما را از تو دریغ نیست . باید کی تو از خود

دریغ نداری .

چون حکیم این سخن بشنید و این اعزاز و اکرام بدید، (f.10b) خاضع وار از 25

طریق تواضع چنانک سزاوار ملوک بوز خدمت کرد و دعا گفت، و آفرینی، هرچ

زیباتر یاز کرد، و گفت -

شاه جهان و خسرو، ملوک زمانه بهر زبانی ستوده است و آینه، دولت از

رنگ فنا بمصقله، بقا زدوده است، حق - عَزَّ وَعَلَّ - بندگانرا بکرم خویش

از خدمت خسرو چندان نعمت داده است کی دلها بندگان از اندیشه  
آن عاجزست، و زبان از خواستن آن باز مانده است. و آن همه کرم  
خدای است و انعام خدایگان. و چون خسرو این انعام می فرماید و در  
دل بنده بدست نشاط می کشاید، بنده را از کار فرمودن فرمان شاه چاره  
نبود، خاصه کی فرمان بسوگند پیوسته شد.

5

حاجتی بخواهم خواست؛ اگر تمام شوند کار هر دو سرای من بنظام شوند،  
گنجی بوز کی فنا بوی راه نیابد و دست حوادث از وی کوتاه بوز. از  
کمال همت خسرو چشم دارم که، اگر رای اعلا اقتضا کند، بفرماید حکیم  
بزرجمهر بن البختگانرا کی چون بناء لیف این کتاب دست بر کشاید، سر مرا  
بیان کردن درین کتاب بزرگ گرداند، و دری بنام من فرو نهان، کی هر که  
این کتاب بخواند نام مرا تازه گرداند.

10

خسرو اورا اجابت کرد و کس فرستاد و بزرجمهر را بخواند. چون در آمد پیش  
تخت بایستاد. خسرو سر بر آورد و گفت -

ای بزرجمهر، ترا معلومت کی برزوی حکیم در طاعت داری و خدمت کاری  
بچه جایگاهست. و پوشیده نیست کی اورا در دل ما چه پایگاه است و  
درین کار چه رنج کشیده است، و چه مشقت دیده تا این کتابها پر  
حکمت و دفترها پر علم و هدایت بما رسانید. و ما را می باید کی تو  
در اول این کتاب داستانی فرو نهی بنام وی چنانک در وی احتیاط و  
کفایت و رشد و هدایت و فطنت و درایت او و موافقت او در بجا  
آوردن فرمانها، ما و تمام کردن اشارتها، ما یاز کنی، تا هر آنکسی کی

20

بخواند بداند، کی هر که فرمان ملوک را گردن نهد و بطاعت ایشان (f.11a)  
قیام نماید، رنج وی ضایع نگردد. و می خواهم کی شرط نفاذ رای و همت  
تمام بجای آوری، کی اگر برزوی بحق آن نرسد، ما نیابت او بجای آوریم.

بزرجمهر از پادشاه بپذیرفت کی دانست کی خسرو را در باب برزوی عنایتی تمام  
است. و برفت و بناء لیف این کتاب و دیگر کتابها مشغول گشت. چون تمام شد  
در آمد و پیش خسرو آورد. هرک بدید و بشنید، انگشت تعجب بدندان تحیر  
بگرفت و داستان برزوی را از اول حال او تا انتها و مال او در اول کتاب یاز کرد؛  
و در وی باز نمود کی آوردن این کتاب چگونه بوز، از بهر آنک هر کی این قصه  
ندانند و این حسب حال بر نخواند قدر این کتاب نشناسند، کی آسان گیر آسان گذار بوز.

25

## آغاز کتاب کلیله و دمنه

بدانك این کتاب کلیله و دمنه است، کی حکماء هند جمع کرده اند و فراهم آورده  
و در امثال و اشارت مضمّر ساخته اند، و کفایت و قوّت خود در وی پرداخته  
اند و در هر بابی آنچه شرط بوند شرح داده اند و مشکلات را بدست حلّ بر گشاده .

5 و خردمندان متقدّم در هر وقتی و حینی و آوانی کی بونده اند، زکوّة کنج دانش

خویش بمستحقّان رسانیدن واجب دیده اند، کی نخل علم سخر از نخل  
مالست؛ زیرا کی مال را چون بر داری کم آید، و علم را چون شرح درای بیفزاید،  
کی از چشمه خاطر هر چند بیشتر چرخ کنی بیشتر زاید؛ و چون ابر نخل  
از پیش آفتاب علم بر داری، روح بنماید؛ تا این همت ایشانرا بدان آورد کی این

10 کتاب جمع کردند، و شرط مناصحت بجای آوردند، و در احوال دام و دز

حکمتها نهان کردند، تا آنان کی اهل تحقیق و جدّ بوند از وی غریب حکم و  
امثال شنوند، و آنان کی اهل هزل و مجانت بوند از وی بهره تماشا و تنزه  
بر داشتند . و جوانان بحفظ او حریصی نمودند (f.11b) و از خواندن او  
نیاسوند، اگر چه ندانستند کی آن چیست و در وی چه حکمتها مضمّر کرده اند .

15 امّا چون عقل بکمال رسد و پرده جهالت بدست خرد درنده گردد، معلوم  
شود کی بیرون ظاهر کی او دید باطنی دیگر است؛ و درین عالم صور بسی ارواح  
مضمّر است، و هر یکی ازین کالبد جانی از جدّ دارد .

و مثل وی همچنان بوند کی کوزکی کی از پذیر باز ماند و از طفولیت نیک از بد  
نداند؛ و پذیر از بهر وی گنجها گذاشته بوند و بجواهر قیمتش بینباشته بوند .  
20 کودک از آن حال جز ظاهر نبیند؛ امّا چون بالغ شود، معلوم او گردد کی پذیر  
از بهر وی چه کار کرد، چه اگر پذیر آن مال فراهم نیاورده بوندی، امروز پسر بیسی  
رنج آن جمع نتوانستی کردن و بعمری دراز بهم نتوانستی آوردن .

پس اوّل چیزی کی بر خواننده این کتاب واجب اند آنست، کی او را سرسری  
بخواند، و تا یک در را چنانک شرط او باشد نداند، بدیگری تعدی نکند کی  
25 بی فایده ماند . و آنگاه مثال او همچنان باشد کی آمده است کی مردی در

بیابانی می رفت ، ناگاه گنجی بیافت . چون بنگرید بغایت بسیاری بود ، چشم و دل وی از آن برگشت و با خوند اندیشه کرد ، کی -

اگر من این را این جایگاه بگذارم و از وی باندازه وقت و قوت و قوت قدری بر دارم ، روزگاری دراز باید تا این بآخر آید .

5 حرمان حجاب کار او گشت و او را بدان آورد کی برفت و مردی چند بمزد بگرفت و جای خوند بایشان نمود ؛ و ایشانرا بر سر آن گنج آورد و پشتوارها بر پشت ایشان نهاد و بخانه خوند فرستاد . برفتند و باز آمدند و علی هذا تا آنکه کی آن گنج بآخر رسید . بخانه آمد ، در خانه هیچ ندید . چون از نهان آن کار آگاه شد ، جهان روشن بر ریزه وی سیاه گشت از بهر آنکه آن قوم جمله 10 بخانهها خوند برده بودند و سوز و منفعت آن نعمت و گنج بدیگران بود ، و نصیب او غم و درد آمد .

پس هر کسی حکمت اول این کتاب نادانسته بدیگری روز ، بهمه حال رنج او هَبَاءٌ مَنشُورًا باشد . و این سخن با عاقل محصل گفته آمده است ، نه با نادان غافل ، (f.12a) از بهر آنکه نادانرا بر آنچه کند ملامت کمتر کنند . 15 چنانکه بیماری کی از گرانی چیزی آگاه باشد و از زیان او خبر دارد ؛ آنگاه او را حرص شهوت و شره بدان آورد کی از وی بخورد ، ملامت عقل در باب وی بیش از آن بود کی در حق بیماری کی چیزی خورد کی گمان برز کی داروی است . اگر چه این نیز از ملامت خالی نبود ، کی گویندش -

چرا نپرسیدی ؟

20 چنانکه بینا و نابینای براهی روند کی چاه بود و هر دو در چاه افتند ؛ در قدم هلاك هر دو برابر باشند و چون در چاه افتانند بینا و نابینا یکسان بودند ؛ اما بر طریق عقل استحقاق ملامت بینا را نزدیک تر و عذر از قبول دورتر . و باید که چون علم این کتاب حاصل کرده شود ، اول چنان سازد کی برش بخورد و در بکار بستن او جهد و جد بجای آرد ؛ آنگاه بدیگران آموزد کی اگر خوند را پی 25 بر بگذارد و نصیب خویش بدیگری سپارد ، مثال او چون چشمه باشد کی بر

آب وی هر کسی درخت و گشت کارند ، و او را از آب خویش هیچ بهره نبود . و بهیچ حال بخل کردن بدانش هیچ دانا رخصت نداده است ، کی آتشی کی نور و تبش او بمردم نرسد ؛ بر خاصیت خود بیدار کرده بود ، کی بزرگان گفته اند کی - سه چیز را بخل بکاهد و جود بیفزاید ؛ یکی دانش و دوم مال و سیوم آرم

و کار نیک .

و دیگرانرا از پند وی چه سوز بود ؟ اگر او را سوز نداشت، کی آنگاه مثال وی چون کسی بود کی هر دو دیده نداشت و یک چشمان را بکوری سرزنش کند ؛ دیگر باید کچون دانا گشت، راهی بر دست گیرد تا ازو راحت بیند ، همچنانک خون را راحت جوید نصیب بهتر و نکوتر بیاران رساند، و چنان نسازد کی راحت خود در رنج دیگران روا دارد، کی بهمه حال باین سر یا بآن سر بوی باز گردن . کی در حکایات آمده است کی بروزگار دو مرد گنجیذ فروش بوزه اند، و هر دورا دوکان یکی بود . ازین هر دو مرد یکی را حرص مال و نسیان مال بآن آورد کی با خون اندیشه کرد، کی -

امشب بیایم و گنجید هم دکان بدزدیم . (f.12b)

و بیامد و ردا، خون بر گنجید هم دکان پوشید تا چون بتاریکی بیاید، گنجید یار از آن خون باز شناسد، و برفت . چون هم دکان بجایگاه خون باز آمد، ردا دید بر گنجید خود پوشیده . گفت -

اینت، هم دکانی پر شفقت و مُتَحَنِّن کی من دارم، کی بردا، خون گنجید مرا از گرد و خاک بپوشانیده است . و بهر حال ردا، او بر گنجید او اولیتر .

ردا، او از گنجید خون بر داشت و بر آن وی پوشید و برفت . چون شب در آمد، آن یار خیانت کار قصد گنجیذ بردن کرد و دانست کی تنها نتواند ؛ دیگری را با خود یار کرد و نیمی او را بدیذار کرد . چون در آمد تاریک بود، دست فراز کرد و بنشان ردا بر سر گنجید رفت و دو نیمه کرد و نیمی بر گرفت و نیمی بشریک داد . چون روز شد نگاه کرد ؛ گنجید خون نیمی بیاز داده بود . و رنج تن و بیداری شب بر سری درد دل می کشید، و روی گفتاری نه، و زیان خون می دید و روی پیکار نه .

و باید کی هرک دل بر کاری نهد، دل بمنزلی نهد، کی بوی رسد و مرکوب او پاء آن منزل دارد، کی اگر بالا، طاقت کوشد نه بمقصود رسد و نه مرادش بر آید . و باید کی در هر کاری کی بوز جانب آخرت بر جانب این جهان مقدم دارد، کی هرک دل در دنیا کمتر بندد، حسرت او بر فوات آن کمتر باشد .

و باید کی نومید نگردد، اگر چه در دل وی دیرتر آویزند، کی مثال آموختن و رنج بردن بر مثال آتش و هیزم نهاده اند، کی اگر آتش آهسته بوز و هیزم سخت بوز،

آخر هم آتش بر هیزم بیفزاید، و دست آتش چربتر آید .  
 پس نومیذی شرط نیست، کی کاهلی بر آرد . و نیز بسیار بوز کی مرد ناجسته  
 بغرض و مقصود خود نرسد، چنانکه در حکایات آورده اند کی بوز در روزگار گذشته  
 درویشی؛ او بفایت رسیده و رنج او از حدّ و نهایت گذشته . بهر کسی از  
 5 دوستانِ خود شکایتِ حالِ خود می کرد و برهنگی و بی نوای و بی برگی، خود  
 با شناختگان می نمود؛ هیچ کس او را دستگیری نکرد . بر خاست و دلی کباب  
 و چشمی پر آب بخانه شد و سر محنت (f.13a) بر زانو؛ ادبار نهان و در  
 گشاده . باز گذاشت کی مرد مفلس ایمن باشد و خانه تهی را از دزد بیم  
 نبوز . چون شب در آمد، دزدی قصدِ خانه وی کرد؛ در آمد و گردِ خانه  
 10 برگشت؛ هیچ ندید و خداوندِ خانه خاموش می بود، کی دلش از مفلسی، خود  
 آگاه بوز . چون دزد گرد خانه بگشت قضا را خمی دید، قدری گندم در وی .  
 با خود گفت -

این ببرم باری تا رنج من ضایع نگردد .  
 و چادری با خود برده بود، کی اگر جای چیزی بدست آرد در وی نهد . باز  
 15 گستر و گندم در وی ریخت . خواست کی بر دارد . خداوند خانه گفت -  
 رنج برهنگی هست؛ چون گندم ببرد رنج دو گردد .  
 بانگ بر دزد زد؛ دزد بگریخت و گندم و چادر بجاء بماند . خداوند خانه چادر  
 بر گرفت و در خود پیچید .  
 و هر چند کی این حکایت گفته شد و از اتفاق روزگار بوز کی این چنین احوال  
 20 افتد اما نادر بوز . و مردم عاقل بر نادرات اعتماد نکنند کی قاعده عالم  
 بر آن بوزده است کی -  
 هر که جدّ و جهد پیش کند، بمقصد زودتر رسد؛ و بوز کی جوینده  
 نیابد و سوی نشسته بشتابد .  
 و چون مرد را از کاری رنجی برسد، همواره باید کی از عین آن کار احتراز کند و  
 25 اشباه او را بر آن قیاس کند، و تجربتِ خود را از هرچ باز ماند نگاه دارد،  
 کی نه همواره بعینه آن چنان آید . و هر کی در قیاس و تجربت بر خود گشاده  
 ندارد، عمر او بی فایده ماند و عقل او پر اومید نباشد، کی قیاس و تجربت  
 قوتِ عقل است .

و نیز باید کی در احوال دیگران نظر کند و حوادث زمانه را مقتدای خویش



سازد، کی اگر پرهیز جز از واقعه نکند کی اورا افتد، مثال او چون کبوتر بوز کی  
بچشم خون می بیند کی بچه، اورا هر باری می برند و می کشند و اورا (عدم)  
تجارب بر آن می دارند، کی از جای مفارقت نمی کند. اگر صاحب تجربت  
بوزی از رنجی کی بچه می رسد عبرت گرفتی، لاجرم روزی ناگه نوبت کشتن بسوی  
رسد. 5

و باید کی در کارها اندازه بشناسد، و چون اندازه شناخت، از اندازه در نگذارد،  
و قصور هم ننماید. کی در گذشتن (f.13b) و باز ماندن در حدّ و محدود  
نقص آورد، و بداند کی هر کسی مقصودی هست کی سعی، وی از بهر آن باشد،  
کی هر کرا نشانه از جهان بوز، زندگانی از بهر آن بوز، و هر کرا زندگانی از بهر  
دنيا بوز نشانه، وی آن بوز، و هر کرا مقصود هر دو بوز زندگانی، او پراومیزتر  
باشد. و گفته اند کی - 10

در سه چیز تکاپوی نمودن هنر است: یکی آنک تعبش با خلق بوی تعلق  
دارد، و دوم آنچ راه آخرت را زاد بوز، و سیوم آنچ شغل معیشت وی  
بوی راست گردن.

و گفته اند - 15

سه چیز را سست گرفتن ناهمواری کارها بر آرد: یکی خوارکاری در آنچ پیش  
آید، دوم خویشتن بر ساختن از بهر مرادی کی بر آید یا بر نیاید، و سیوم  
سخن هر گونه، بی درستی قبول کردن و با دل صحبت دادن.  
کی چون مرد از خود باین قناعت کند، بوز کی بسی کارها را خوار گیرد و چیزها را  
راست دارد کی اورا زیان آرد. و باید کی مرد پای در هیچ کاری ننهد بر  
عمیا، کی چون بر عمیا و جهالت پای در کاری نهد، هر چند بر آید از مراد  
دورتر ماند. همچنان مردی کی براهی بنادانی در روز هر چند پیش روز از  
مقصود دورتر افتد. و اگر مرد را در دیده دردی پدید آید و پیوسته  
می مالذ و می خازد، بصلاح نیاید و بیم آن بوز کی سپیدی پدید کند. آنکه بوز  
کی برنجی، بسیار بر خیزد. و هر که در جرم تقصیر کند عزم وی جز سست  
نیاید. 20 25

پس چون نظر کرد مترجم این کتاب، محمد بن عبدالله البخاری، در احوال این  
کتاب، کی اورا از زبان یونانی بزبان پارس آوردند و در اوّل وی داستان برزوی  
پزشك زیادت کردند. و چون از زبان پارس، کی زبانی غامض بود، بزبان

عربیت، کی فاصلترین زبانہاست، شرح دازند، این داستان کی نبشته شد در  
وی بیفزوندند . و چون پانشاہ - عَزَّ نَصْرَهُ - مرا بفرمود کی -  
این را بزبان دری ترجمہ کن .

5 من نیز دیباچہ اول بیفزودم ؛ و بر قدم و قاعدہ توحید بنا کردم، تا این چنین  
کتابی مفید از معالم توحید خالی نباشد . و ماءمول چنانست ، (f.14a)  
کی این دیباچہ تاج ہمہ دیباچہا بوز بدو معنی ، [اول] کی بر قواعد  
اعتقادست و دیگر کی بنام ولی، نعمت سایر طوایف و احادست . وَاللّٰهُ  
الْمُنْعِمُ بِمِنْه .

اول این داستان کی برزوی پزشک در آغاز سخن بیفزوده است

چنین گوید برزوی، کی رئیس پزشکان و حکیمان پارس بوز و این کتاب از ولایت هندوستان برون آورد، کی -

5 پذیر من از جمله مبارزان و سواران بود و مادر من از جمله بزرگان و گویندگان حکمت بوز بدانش؛ و در فرزندان مادر و پدر من، از من گرامی تر کسی نبود. با دوستی کی مرا در دل ایشان بوز، ایشانرا بر آن داشت کی مرا باستانی سپردند، کی مرا علم طب بیاموخت و دل من بدان بر آفروخت. چون بحد اند سالگی رسیدم، چشم دل باز کردم و شکر مادر و پدر خویش بجای آوردم بدان اختیار کی در حق من کردند، از بهر آنکه علم طب را عظمی یافتم بنزدیک عقلا ستوده و بنزدیک هیچ کس نکوهیده نه.

10 پس بر خاستم و کمر جد بر میان بستم و آگینه آرام و خواب را بسنگ درست درس و مداومت بشکستم، تا رنج بردی من ثمرت دانش بار داد و حظی جزیل از طب حاصل کردم؛ و بر خوند ایمن گشتم، کی - اگر کسی را مداومت کنم، بصواب نزدیک تر بوز کی بخطا اگر تدبیر با تقدیر برابر آید.

15 پس با دل خود اندیشه کردم و گفتم - ای دل، بدان کی هر کی رنجی برز و دانشی حاصل کند از بهر چهار چیز بوز: نام و لذتها و مال و زمره و ثواب آخرتی. اکنون تو در نگر کی کدام اختیار کنی و کدام معنی با فایده تر دانی.

20 دل گفت - ازین چهار خصلت یکی باقیست و سه فانی، و هیچ عاقلی فانی را بر باقی (نگزید)، کی آنکه مثال من همچنان باشد کی کسی را گوهری شب افروز باشد، کی (بها) وی سبب معیشت همه عمر وی بوز، بمهره بدل کند کی هیچ قیمتی ندارد.

پس دل آخرت اختیار کرد و گفت - (f.14b)

من بدیده‌ام و بدانسته کی هر کی دنیا را اصل سازد و آخرت را تبع  
وی کند، از هر دو محروم ماند؛ و هر کی آخرت را فرع سازد و دنیا را  
تبع وی داند، هر دو مسخر وی گردند. و مثال طالب آخرت مانند  
کسی باشد کی دنیا را وطن سازد و زمی را عمارت کند؛ و آب دهد از  
بهر گندم را نه از بهر گیارا، لکن چون کشت پرورده کشت ناچار گیا هم  
پرورده گردند.

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پس روی بمداوات بیماران آوردم و ثواب آخرت را قبله کردم. هر جا کی بشنیدمی  
کی بیماری هست کی اورا اومید تن درستی هست یا اومید سبکی، هرچ ممکن  
گشتی از معالجت بجای آوردمی و در شفقت تقصیر نکردمی؛ و هر داروی کی  
اورا حاجت بونی بدانمی، و رنج طلب کردن آن دارو بر وی ننهادمی. و در  
مدت خون از هیچ کس مکافاتی چشم نداشتمی؛ و آن تخمی بون کی از بهر  
سرای بقا می کاشتم. و هر کرا دیدم کی در علم با من برابر است، تا بیک  
درجه فروتر است، اگرچه بمال و جاه و وسعت و پایگاه از من بیش بون، حسد  
نکردم. و چون نفس من در آرز و حرص بر خون بگشادی، من آن در بر وی  
بمسار و بند قناعت بستمی، و گفتمی -

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ای نفس، چرا سوز خون از زیان باز شناسی؟ چرا عنانرا از جستن توانگری  
باز نکشی، کی هر چند بیشتر گردن رنج تو بیفزاید؟ در میدان طلب دنیا  
لگام اسب فرو مگذار، کی هیچ دابارا هم راه خون نیابی. از مشارکت  
دون همتان نیک نداری. چرا این فانی را زیر لکد همت نیاری؟ چرا  
خون بطلب آن باقی نسازی؟

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ای نفس، دل ازین غفلت و خوارکاری بر دار، و روی بر ریاضت و مجاهدت  
آر، و این تن کثیف را در معاملات افکن، کی تن قاعده سست دارد و چهار  
گشن در وی بجوش است، کی اگر نه، جان ایشانرا بهم آوردی و نگاه داشتی؛  
از هم فرو افتازی بر مثال بتی کی از هم فرو افتاده بون و پاره گشته بون.  
چون اورا بهم آوری و هر عضوی را بجای بنهی و بمخی، اورا بهم  
آوری، صورت او کامل شون. باز چون هیچ از وی جدا شون، از هم  
پراکنده گردند.

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ای نفس، بصحبت (f.15a) دوستان دنیا مغرور مگرد، کی اگرچه خالی را

ازیشان آسایش و شادی یابی . مآل را ازیشان جز زنج، هیچ نبینی، کی  
مثال ایشان چون کَفَّلیزی بوز، کی مادام تا در دست بوز منافع را بشاید  
و چون بشکست جز سوختن را بکار نیاید .

و ای نفس، مبادا کی دوستی، خویش و پیوند ترا بدان آوزد کی روزگار  
عمر در سرکاری کنی، کی بر آن بدیگران باز گردن و عمر تو ضایع شوند، کی  
مال از بهر صلاح ایشان جمع کنی، کی آنگاه مثال تو چون مِجْمَری بوز  
کی بوی عود سوزند و بوی خوش او بدیگران باز گردن، و او در نفس خویش  
بی نصیبی می سوزد .

و ای نفس، نگر کی بتوانگری و پایگاه ( دنیا غره ) نگر دی، کی از وی جز  
نظری، مهلك هیچ بدست نداری . نگر دل بروی ننهی، کی او بر هیچ  
قاعده نیاید، و مادرست کی جز فراق نر آید . و مثال تو با وی چون  
موی سر است، کی تا بر سر مردم می بوز مردم از خدمت وی  
نیاسایند و پیوسته می شوید و می آراید . باز چون از سر جدا شوند  
بهیچ حال در وی ننگرد، و اگر بر راه افشاده بوز بر وی نگذرد و او را از  
هر خواری خوارتر شمارد و زیر لکد مذلش بسپرد .

ای نفس، همین قاعده و نهان بر دست گیر و فریب نفس غدار میپذیر، و  
این شفاء کی حق - عَزَّ وَجَلَّ - بیماران را بر دست تو می دهد غنیمتی،  
بزرگ شمر، و برنجی کی بدل و تن تو می رسد منگر . و اگر کسی قدر  
کار تو نداند، بهیچ وجه آن سری بی فایده نماند؛ و با خوند تجربت کن کی  
اگر کسی پیشه را بگشاید یا گمراهی را راه نماید، تا بعد از آن کی از راحت  
باز مانده بوز و غدر روزگارش در زاویه عجز نشانده بوز، بساط غم بر نوردن  
و بدان نهان اول باز گردن، چه مایه مزد و ثواب یابد تا ترا معلوم  
شوند کی این حال کیست، کی در چه عمر يك بند گشاده بود .

پس تو، کی هر روزی کی از عمر تو بگذارد، بر دست و پای تو شفاء بیماری  
بر آید، کی اومید از بزرگانی بر داشته بوز و نقش مفارقت خویش و  
پیوندی، دل نکاشته بوز و از طعام و شراب (f.15b) مهجور شده، و  
از خواب و آرام بی بهره گشته، بنگر کی ثواب تو چند بوز .  
و ای نفس، نگر کی شتاب کاری ترا بدان نیارز کی گوی -

من این نقد را بنسبه چرا دهم دل بر چیزی کی ندیدم و نه بینم؟

چرا نهم کی هیچ کسی بر شتاب سوز ندیدست و هیچ کس بر نافتی  
زیان نکشیده است ؟

کی هر کی شتاب کاری کند، مآل او چنان باشد کی آموزه است کی مردی  
بوزه است بازرگان، و خانه داشت بر بنگاهی کی مردم شهر محتاج آن  
بودند، و رغبتی تمام در خریدن آن می نمودند . آن بازرگان گفت کی -  
اگر من این را بسنگ و آهستگی بفروشم، دیر شوز و بوز کی کسی  
دیگر بیازد .

برفت و بگراف فروخت . چون بعاقبتکار نظر کرد، زیان او بیش از سوز بوز .  
چون نفس سخت کاری من بدید و این حجتها من بشنید و دید، او را بدلیل و  
برهان گشاده کردم و نهال او را بآب بصیرت پیوردم ، اعتراف آورد و اقرار کرد و  
کردن نهال حق را، و روی از آنک هر گاه بوی میل کردی بگردانید، و دل را بر  
معالجت بیماران بنهاد از بهر مزد و ثواب آن جهانی . چون آخرت را بر دنیا  
اختیار کرد حق - عَزَّ وَ عَلَا - در روزی بر من بگشاد و مرا بالا اومید و  
اندیشه خود بدان تا محسود اقران گشتم و نشانه زمان شدم . و هر روزی از  
ملوك تشریفی دیگر یافتم تا روزان آمد کی بهندوستان رفتم و بمراد خویش  
باز آمدم .

پس در احوال طب نگزیدم، و بدیده خرد بدیدم کی پزشك، اگر چه داروی وقت  
بسازد و وسع خون در وی بپردازد، بهیچ حال تدبیر آن نداند کی آن تن درستی  
جاوید بماند و آن بیماری باز تازه نشوز . در خاطر من آمد کی داروی باید کی  
از وی ثمرت جاوانانی بر آید، دیدم کی این معنی جز در اعمال دین نبود، کی -  
هر که در دین زنده گردن، هرگز مرگ بوی راه نیابد .

ازین باب طب بر دل من خوار گشت و روی بطلب دین آوردم، و کار دین بر  
من آشفته گشت کی مردم را در وی بر طبقات و تفاوت دیدم؛ گروهی از پدران  
میراث گرفته و چنگ (f.16a) در شاخ تقلید پدران زده، و گروهی بجبر و کره و  
بیم و کامرانی ساخته و عمر بر تن قدم نگذاشته، و گروهی دین را دام معیشت  
و کام شناخته و عمر بر طلب جاه و مرتبت پرداخته . و هر کرا بدیدم و از  
وی باز پرسیدم، جواب من چنان داد کی -

دست در دامن حق، من دارم، و مخالف من در پای دام جهل و  
خطا مانده است .

و خلق را دیدم در غمِرتِ اختلاف پوینده و هر کسی بر طریقی، دیگر راه حق جوینده، بعضی را هوا و شهرت گمراه کرده و بعضی را دلیل و حجت براه آورده. تدبیر خویش بجز آن ندیدم، کی گفتم کی -

با مہترانِ ہر ملتِی صحبت کنم و خدمت ایشان بر دست گیرم، تا مگر شبِ طلبِ مرا صبحی بدیدار آید یا قفلِ سرگردانی مرا از بصیرت کلیدی زاید.

5

ہر چند رنج پیش بردم و طلب بیش کردم، از هیچ کس جز ستایش مذهب خویش و نکوہش مذهب خصم نشنیدم، و معلوم من شد کی ہر کسی جز تعصّب نمی ورزد و جز زیادتِ آمدن نمی خواہد، و هیچ کسی براستی سخن نمی گوید. چون متابعت کسی را بر متابعت خصمش بیشی ندیدم، گفتم -

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اگر من همچنین بی تحقیق دست بکسی زنم، بر عقل خویش ستم کردہ باشم و چشمہ آفتاب را بگل بیندودہ، و خود را بفریفتہ. همچنان کی در حکایات آمدہ است کی مردی بوزہ است توانگر و منعم. شبی در خانہ خفتہ است و بر بام خود بانگی شنیدہ. دانستہ است کی -

درین وقت بر بام جز تہمت زدہ نبود.

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عیالِ خود را بیدار کردہ است و گفتم -

ای زن، اینک دزدان بر بام خانہ آمدہ اند. بہر حال اگر ما خاموش باشیم، سوی کالا، ما بشتابند و بر ما دست یابند. و اینک من خود را خفتہ سازم، تو مرا بیدار کن و مرا بپرس کی - تو این کالاہا و نعمت از کجا بچنگ آوردی و چگونه بدست

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کردی؟

و چون من از جوابِ تو امتناع کنم، بر من الحاج کن.

زن همچنان کرد. مرد گفت -

ای زن، ازین شغل دست بدار و بر من الحاج مکن. حقّ - عَزَّ وَ جَلَّالَهُ - نعمتی داده است. بخور و بشکر خدای - عَزَّ وَ جَلَّ - مشغول باش، (f.16b) کی مبادا کی کسی بشنود و پردہ ما دریدہ گردن.

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زن گفت -

( ای ) مرد، چہ بوز اگر مراد من بدہی و بہر چیزی بہانہ

نگیری؟ این ساعت باین شب کی می دانی اینجا کی مائیم،

سخن من که خواهد شنودن؟

مرد گفت -

ای زن، این سخن گفتنی نیست، اما چون الحاح می کنی از گفتن

چاره نیست. بدان کی من این کالا از دزدی بدست آوردم.

زن گفت -

ای مرد، این چگونه ممکن گرد، و درین شهر ما بامانت و دیانت

تو کسی دیگر نیست؟

گفت -

مرا علمی، دزدی حاصل شده بوز، کی کالا بدست می آوردم و

هیچ کس بر احوال من مطلع نگشتی.

گفت -

آن چه بوز؟

گفت -

مرا افسونی بوز بزرگ بیام خانه. برفتمی و بروشن خانه

بایستادمی کی ماهتاب بوزی، هفت بار بگفتمی -

شولم شولم

و دست در ماهتاب زد می و بخانه فرو رفتمی. و هیچ رنجی

بمن نرسیدی و کس از احوال من آگاه نگشتی. پس هم در

روشنای بایستادمی و همان افسون هفت بار بگفتمی، هرچ در خانه

کالا بوزی پیش من گرد آمدی. آنچ خواستمی بر گرفتمی و

دست در ماهتاب زد می و هم بدین افسون بالا رفتمی.

چون دزدان این سخن بشنیدند شادمانه شدند و با یک دیگر گفتند کی -

مارا امشب ازین خانه چیزی بدست افتاد کی گنجها، روان آرزد در

بیم ما بسته شد، و در ایمنی بر ما گشاده گشت.

پس ساعتی صبر کردند تا ایشانرا صورت بست کی خداوند خانه خفته است.

آنگاه بروشن خانه رفتند و افسون بگفتند، و دست در ماهتاب زدند و سر

نگوسار در خانه افتانند.

چون این مثل بر دل خویش بخواندم، روی از پذیرفتن تحقیق بتقلید بگردانیدم.



باز گفتم -

ای دل، اگر تو در همین قدم بمانی، بهیچ منزلی نرسی. مبادا کی  
مرگ بسر در آید و از مقصود باز افتی و در همین عمیا و جهالت  
بمیری، کی روزگار بی فایده بسر بردن پشیمانی بر دهد، چنانک در حکایت  
آمده است کی مردی با زنی سر و کاری ناپسندیده داشت، و زن را شوی  
بود. این مرد بیگانه گفت کی -

5

من اندیشه می کنم کی آمذن من آشکارا گردن. (f.17a)

و زن زیر زمین جایگاهی بساخت، کی هر گاهی مرد از آن آمذن و  
شدن کردی و بر سر وی خمی نهاد از بهر ( نشان ) . روزی شوی بر  
در خانه آمذن. مرد بیگانه در خانه بود، گفت -  
ای زن، من از کدام راه روم ؟

10

گفت -

از آن راه کی نزدیک خم است.

مرد برفت. خم بر داشته بودند. بجستن راه مشغول نشد، باز  
آمد و گفت -

15

این جایگاه کی تو مرا نشان دانی، خم نیست، و خم ازین جایگاه  
بر گرفته اند.

زن گفت کی -

من خم از بهر آن گفتم تا ترا معلوم شوند کی زیر زمینی  
می باید رفتن.

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گفت -

آری ولیك درست ببایست دانستن، آنگاه گفتن.

زن گفت -

آری، برو و بجستن راه مشغول باش، نه بمنظره، کی همین  
ساعت شوی در آید و کار از دست برون.

25

فرمان نکرد و حجت می گفت و می شنید تا آنگاه کی شوی در آمدن و او را  
بگرفت و نزدیک پادشاه برد.

برزوی گفت -

کچون بر خون ازین حال پرسیدم، چاره خون جز در يك حال ندیدم، کی گفتم -

بیا، ای دل، تا راهی طلب کنیم و راهی بدست گیریم، کی هر گروهی آن را  
بپذیرد و خاطر هر غافلی از آن نفور نگیرد. چاره همان دیدم، کی دست  
از گشتن و زدن و بر منشی کردن و خشم گرفتن و دزدی و جنایت کردن  
باز داشتم. و آلت شهوت خویش در بند صیانت کردم و زبان از دروغ  
مَصون داشتم. و از هر سخنی و فعلی کی برنج کسی باز گردن پرهیز  
کردم، و از فحش و سخن ناهمواری و بهتان و دروغ و افسوس احتراز  
کردم.

5

و با خوند پیمان کردم کی بهیچ کسی بد نخواهم، و هرج بخوند نپسندم  
بکسی دیگر نپسندم. و بقیامت و ثواب و عقاب مقرر آمدم و از صحبت  
بذات دوری جستم بدل. و فعل و نیکی کردن را یاری شایسته و رفیقی  
بایسته دانستم، کی ملازمت وی از پدر و مادر پرفایده تر دیدم، و نیکی را  
گنجی دیدم کی بهر نیه کردن کاهش نپذیرد و بخشیدن نقصان نگیرد.  
و هر چند روزگار پیش تر آید تازه تر و خوب تر نماید، دست بیدان ستمگران  
از وی کشیده، و صعلوکان عالم طمع از وی بریده، آفت آب و آتش را بوی  
راه نه و دزد (f.17b) و دام را چنگ و دندان از وی جز کوتاه نه. و  
سالکان راه زهد را دیدم بر شاه راه درستکاری نشسته و دل و دیده از  
دنیا گسسته، نظر آجل باقی ایشانرا از نظر عاجل فانی مشغول کرده،  
دیده ایشان باین گشاده گشته کی -

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هرک آنچ اورا فریضه است از دست بدهد و بزیادتی مشغول  
گردد، ترك فریضه اورا زیان دارد و بزیادتی هیچ منفعت  
حاصل نکند.

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چنانک در حکایات آمده است کی مردی بازرگانی بوزده است و جوهری  
قیمتی داشت. مردی نگین سایی را گفت کی -  
امروز این رنج بر خود گیر و این جوهر را بسُنب، و صد دینار  
بستان.

25

گفت -

روا بوز. من خود را امروز بصد دینار بمزد بتو دادم.

گفت -

شاید.

بازرگان بر خاست و بخانه حكاك رفت . ديد در گوشه خانه وي چنگي  
نهاده . گفت -

تو اين داني زدن ؟

گفت -

آري .

گفت -

بر گير و بزن .

بزد . بازگانرا خوش آمد و بعشرت مشغول شد تا شب در آمد .  
چون ديگر روز شد حكاك گفت -

بيا و صد دينار من بده .

بازرگان گفت كي -

گوهر من هنوز ناشفته است .

حكاك گفت -

من مزدور تو بونم ؛ آنج فرمودي ، كردم .

بحاكم رفتند . حاكم بفرمود كي -

كار تو كرد . مزدش بده .

زر بر گرفت و گوهر ناشفته بماند ، تا معلوم كردن كي هر كسي كي كار  
فريضة خود بگذارن و روي بآن كار آرن ، كي زيادتي لهو و عشرت دنيا بوز ،  
عمرش بسر رود و هيچ بهره بر ندارد .

20 چون اين حال مرا معلوم گشت ، دل از دنيا بريدم و همت پرهيزكاري آوريدم ،

كي دانستم كي زان راه آخرت را جز زهد نشايد و از چشمه هوا و لهو هيچ چيزي  
نزايد . و برياضت و جهد نفس را گوش ماليدم ، و با خون جز ( عمارت ) آخرت  
نسگاليدم ؛ و راه عبادت را دري ديدم سوي بهشت گشاده ، و مايده ديدم بر جاده  
بقا نهاده . و مي ديدم كي هر كي روي باين راه كرد ، آسايش اين سري و بقاء  
آن سري بدست آورد ، زيرا كي از تكبر بر آسون تا تواضع روي بوي نمود و  
قناعت را پيشه كرد . لا جرم دل از غم دنيا بي اندیشه كرد ، و بدانچ داشت

( f.18a ) رضا داد تا از طلب زيادت فارغ گشت ، و دست از دنيا کوتاه كرد  
تا از بذ زمانه ايمن شد ، و از شهوات باب پرهيز غسل آورد تا طهارت با طنش  
حاصل آمد ، و گوشه گرفت تا اندوه از وي كرانه كرد ، و حسد را دشمن گرفت تا

جهانیان اورا دوست گرفتند، و بترك این فانی بگفت تا کمال عقل بیافت، و انجام کار را بدید تا از پشیمانی آسمن یافت، و روی از گناه بر تافت تا کنج سلامت حاصل کرد.

5 پس هر چند کی در گوشه گرفتن تفکّر بیش کردم، فایده، دیگر بگردانیدم تا کار بجاء رسید، کی روی از هرچ بوز نخواستم گردانیدن. باز اندیشه کردم کی -

نباذا کی برین قاعده ثبات نتوانم کردن و بکار خویش درمانم و از آن غذاها، کی بوی خو نکرده باشم مضری بمن باز گرد. آنگاه از ورزیدن این قدم عاجز کردم و بسر قدم اصلی باز آمذن نتوانم. آنگاه مثال من همچنان باشد کی آورده اند کی سگی می رفت براه و استخوانی از آن پهلوی در دهان گرفته. بآبی گذر کرد، سایه استخوان در آب بدید. 10 دهان باز کرد کی آنرا بگیرد. آنچ داشت از دهان وی بیفتاد؛ ماهی در آمد و بر بود و بیرد.

باین معنی، از گوشه گرفتن بترسیدم. گفتم - اکنون بر همین قاعده پای بیفشارم و همین قاعده نگه دارم. 15 باز در خاطر من آمد کی -

پیش دانشی نبود. از بیم رنج نفس ناسوتی، راه لاهوتی دست برداشتن بیا تا با خوز رنج ببتشکر او سختی (تناهائیرا) قیاس کنم. با رنجی کی صاحب دنیا از دنیا کشد تا ملّ کردم، کی -

هیچ خوشی و لذتی در دنیا نیست کی نه رنج و اندوه بر آرد. 20 و مثال دنیا چون آبی دیدم شور، کی هر چند مردم از وی بیشتر خورد، تشنه تر باشد. و چون استخوان خشک بی گوشت کی سگ ببوی گوشت در دهان گیرد، هر چند بیش خاید، دهانش خون آلود تر گردد. و چون غلیوای کی پاره گوشت بدست آرد و دیگر مرغان بر وی گرد آیند، خواهند کی بستانند؛ بسی ببرد و رنج ببرد، بمقاببت بگذارند رنجور شده و مانده گشته. (f.18b)

25 و نیز مانند انگبین کی بزهر آلوده باشد؛ مردم چون از وی می خورند بظاهر شیرینی وی نگرند، اما چون زهر خاصیت خویشان ظاهر گرداند، آن شیرینی همه عین تلخی شوند. و نیز مانند خوابها، کی مردم ببید و بدان شانمانه شوند؛ چون از خواب بیدار گردند، بدانند کی آن شازی بی اصل بوز. و نیز مانند برقی کی بدرخشد و راه رونده بنور وی راه را ببیند؛ و چون ناپدید

گردن، مرد باومیدِ وی بر جای بماند؛ نه برق باز بتابد و نه مرد اومیدِ بیر .  
و نیز مانند کرم ابریشم کی هر چند بر خود بیشتر تند؛ راه بر وی بسته تر گردد .  
چون این درها بر دل من کشاده گشت ، باز روی بدان آوردم کی -  
گوشه گیرم و دل از دنیا غدار بر دارم .

5 و بر همین قاعده و نهان می بوزم . هر گاه کی عیبها دنیا بر خود شمردمی ،  
دل از وی بر داشت می ؛ و هر گاه کی رنجها عزت و تنها از دفتر تجربت بر  
خواندمی ، دل بر میدی . و میان خون و میان ( حداریقون ) قاضی مصر  
هیچ فرقی نیافتم ، کی آمده است کی چون "خضم نزدیکِ وی در آمدندی ، سخن این  
بشنیدی و بر آن دیگر حکم کردی ؛ و سخن آن بشنیدی ، حکم را بر این باز گردانیدی .  
10 چون در رنج دنیا نگاه کردمی ، گفتمی -

چه آسان و اندک است در جنبِ راحت جاودانی .  
و چون بمرادها دنیا و لذتها وی نظر در افکندمی ، گفتمی -

چه خوش است . الحق این لذتها اگر عقوبت جاودان در قفا نبودی و  
دست از وی بداشتن تلخ است . اما چون براح و لذتِ جاودانی  
نگری شیرین گردد ، کی اگر بمثل مردی را گویند کی - 15

آن خواهی کی ترا صد سال زندگانی بوز در رنجی بلیغ و محنتی  
بی اندازه ، آنگاه ترا زندگانی دهند جاویدان در راحت و نعمت و  
آسایش و شادکامی ؟ یا این خواهی کی ترا صد سال زندگانی بوز  
در راحت و نعمت و آسایش و آسودگی و شادمانی ، آنگاه جاودان  
در رنج و محنت و بلا و شدت بمانی ؟ 20

بهمه حال ، آن مرد عاقل رنجِ صد ساله اختیار کند ، نه رنجِ جاودانی ، خاصه در  
حالِ بشریت کی ابتداء حال وی تا انتها ( f.19a ) جز رنج نیست .  
از بهر آنکه ما در کتبِ علما و فیلسوفان و پزشکان ظاهر چنان یافتیم ، کی چون نُطفه  
از مرد جدا شود ، و در رَجِم با آبِ مادر آمیخته گردد ، و با خونِ وی سِتَبَر و  
غلیظ گردد . پس باز بر وی مستولی گردد و بحرکتِ او را چون سیماب گرداند ، 25  
بارش مانند ماست کند .

و چون وقت بر آید تفصیل و مراتبِ اعضا وی پیدا کند . آنگاه اگر تر بوز رویش  
بر پشتِ مادر بوز ، و اگر ماده بوز رویش سوی شکمِ مادر بوز . دو دست بر روی  
خون نهاده و زَنَدان بر زانو محکم کرده دَر زَه مانده چون زندانی ، و برنج و

و مشقت دم می زند . کرما، شکم بالا و زمی، زه دان زیرا، نس او بناف مادر و از طعام و شراب مادر بقدر و اندازه می گیرند، و برین حال و صفت در آن تنگی و تاریکی می باشد تا وقت زادن .

چون هنگام زادن شوند، باز را بر وی گمارند تا بر حرکت قادر شوند، آهنگ بیرون آمدن کند، و سر بر مخرج زند . در آن حال همچنان رنج بیند کی چیزی کی آنرا در دهق کشند . چون بعالم در آید، نازکی وی بجاء باشد، کی اگر بازی بر وی جهد یا دست کسی بر وی افتد، چنان درد یابد کی مرد پشت کنده . پس بعد از آن هر گونه رنجها کند و انواع بلاها از آزمایشد؛ اگر گرسنه بود، چاره گفتن نه؛ و اگر تشنه بود، روی آب خواستن نه؛ و اگر دردی بوی رسد، سامان ناله نه؛ اگر يك شبانروز بر قفا افتاده بود، طاقت بر پهلو گشتن نه؛ و اگر بر پهلو بوز، نیروی راست شدن نه . درین بلاها بوز مادام تا طفل شیرخواره باشد . چون پاره ای بزرگتر گردن، از بیم و اومید باخبر شود؛ گاه در رنج بیماری و گاه در رنج پرهیز . ( چون ) بحال مردی رسد، غم خان و مان و زن و فرزندان، و اندوه سوزیان، و تعب سفر و حصر، و بیم و مخاطره، تکاپوی در جنگ، و آخشيجان خون صفرا و خون و بلفم و باد مانده، و زهر کشنده و نوش زنده دارنده در وی پراکنده . گاه از سرما ستوه آمد، و گاه از کرما ملول شده . و اگر بپیری برسند، (f.19b) ضعف پیری و نقصان قوت و کم شدن هر لذت مستولی گردن . و اگر این همه نبودی کی گفته آمد، همان بودی و بس کی بآخر کارش خواهد آمد . از فراق دنیا و هجر دوستان و جدای از نزدیکان و عزیزان بایستی کی ساعتی نیا سوزی؛ و روزگار همه بآن بسر بردی، کی تدبیر کردی کی آن ساعت بر وی آسان تر گذشتی . مگر آن مرگ عین زندگانی گشتی کی این دنیا غدار مکار صحبت نیز زد، و اگر صد عمر شمردن عیبها او بسر بریم، هنوز صد چندان دیگر مانده باشد .

خاصه درین روزگار پیر و فرتوت گشته و درین زمانه تیره و بی نور شده، کی هر چند پادشاهرا حق تعالی بفرخندگی و سعادت و پیش بینی و حصافت و بزرگ دلی و همت و صدق و امانت و عدل و سیاست و نهان مهربانی و شفقت بیاراسته است؛ و بدوست داری، دانایان و آسان کاری با بزرگان، و سخت سازی با ستمکاران، و انصاف با رعیت، و داد دادن مظلومان، و فریاد رسیدن فریاد خواهان مخصوص کرده است، زمانه هیچ روی بصلاح ندارد . راستی از میان خلق رمیده،

دلها با دروغ آرمیده؛ نیکان خوار و دلیل شده، بازارِ بدان تیز گشته؛ زشت کاری  
بر مردان می‌خندد، صلاح و رشد بر خود می‌گزید، آبِ دریا، عدل بزمی  
فرو شده، در فتنِ ستمکاری بعیوق بر رفته، جریده، دانش در نوشته، عروسِ معرفت  
از جلوه باز مانده؛ دینِ همّتی آشکارا شده، کرم وجود ناپیدا گشته، پیمانها

5 دوستان از دست شده، خلق از حسد و بفض سرمست گشته، تاج اکرام از سر  
نیکان بر گرفته و بر سر ناپاکان نهاده؛ در وفا بسته، در غدر گشاده، شاهِ راستی  
پژمرده و سی بر گشته، نهالِ دروغ تازه و تر گشته، حاکم دست راست کاری در  
آستین کشیده، اصحاب فرمان دست جور دراز کرده، ازدها، آرزو و نیاز دهان باز  
کرده. بدان را ناپاکی بدان آورده کی با آسمان برابری جویند، نیکانرا عجز در  
10 زاویه بنشانده بر صلاح می‌پویند، آبگینه، مروت بسنگِ بخل (f.20a) شکسته.

این زمانه، پر مکر و دستان دستان‌شانی می‌زند، کی علم خیر چگونه نگوسار کردم.  
در میانه، این احوال هر چند تجربت کردم، هیچ جنسی را از اجناس خلق از  
آدمی شریف‌تر ندیدم، و او را از اصلاحِ خونِ آلا - ما شا الله - چنان غافل  
15 دیدم کی تکاپوی و جست و جوی، وی جز در بابِ مرادات نفس نیست. و با این  
همه دوستی کی در باب نفس می‌نماید، هرگز راستگاری، او را نمی‌کوشد.  
دانستم کی او را ازین هیچ باز نمی‌دارد جز این لذتی، چند حاقیر کی بوی می  
رسد، ازین پنج در گشاده، چون شنوای و بینا، و یابا، و جشای و نرمجای.  
و یک حایل دیگر کی او را غفلت گویند از احوال عالم، کی اگر دانستی که اخص  
20 اوصافِ دنیا زوال و انتقال است، بهیچ حال روی بوی نیابوردی و پشت بر اعمال  
خیر کی سبب نجات و رستگاری است، نکردی. فکر بر گماشتم تا این صفت را  
مانندی بدست آوردم راست.

مثال چنان یافتم کی مردی از بیمِ چیزی بگریزد و در چاهی رود؛ و دست در دو  
شاخِ درختی زند کی بر سر چاه رسته بوز؛ و بقوت از شاخها هر دو پای بر  
25 کنار چاه استوار کند. چون نگاه کند، چهار مار بیند؛ ازین چاه از هر گوشه، سر  
بر کرده و آهنگ وی کرده. و در قعر چاه ازدها، بیند دهان باز کرده و دو  
موش، یکی سیاه و یکی سپید، در ایستاده و این دو شاخ را می‌برند، کی هیچ  
نمی‌آسایند. و مرد بدان مشغول کی خون را چگونه رهاوند. ناگاه بر آن  
شاخها زنبورخانه، بیند پر انگبین، و بخوردنِ آن مشغول گردد و از آن ماران و

از آن دو موش، کی ناگاه شاخه‌ها را ببرند و او را در دهان اژدها ( بسیر ) کنند  
غافل شده و بر همان غفلت مانده تا آنگاه کی هلاک گردن .

پس مانند کردم دنیا را بچاهی پر آفت رنگ رنگ و بلاها، گوناگون، و این چهار  
طبع را باین چهار مار کی هر گاه کی طبعی چیره گردن در هلاک گشاده شون، و

5 زندگانی را بآن دو شاخ سر بر کشیده، و روز را بآن موش سپید و شب را  
(f.20b) بآن موش سیاه کی شاخه‌ها عمر او می برند، و مرد بی خبر و آن  
غفلت را کی مرد را بی خبر از اصلاح حال خون باز دارند باین شهوتها و حسها و  
خوشیها کی می راند و انجام آن آغاز نمی داند .

آخر آن گشایشها دانش مرا بدان آورد کی بر هم آن قدم کی داشتم پای  
10 بیفشردم، و چشم بر منزل نجات افکندم، و بقدر قوت و توانا، نیکوکاری پیشه  
کردم تا مگر بوقت آنک از چاره باز مانم چاره باشد، و آنگاه کی از همه باز افتم  
همراهی مساعد یابم .

و از هند باز گشتم، گنجها، حکمت بچنگ آورده و دل را بآب دانش پیورده و این  
کتاب بر فایده تمام کرده .



### سپری شدنِ داستانِ برزوی و آمدیم بداستان شیر و گاو

چنین آورده اند کی دیسلم ملکِ هندوستان بیدیا حکیم را کی مهتر دانایان و فیلسوفان  
بوز پیش خواند و گفت -

بسی پندها، خوب ما را بدانی و بسی درها، حکمت بر ما گشانی . از تو  
در می‌خواهم کی از بهر ما مثلی زنی و مانندی پیدا کنی در میان دو  
دوست یگانه کی بدگوی در میان ایشان راه یابد و دوستی ایشان دشمنی  
گرداند و نزدیکی ایشانرا دوری کند .

بیدیا، فیلسوف زبان بر گشاد کی -

دیر است تا هر دوستی‌ای کی دو روی و سخن چین در وی راه یافت عداوت  
گردد و هر صفاء کی تمام دست در وی آورد تیره گردد . و آنرا مثالی  
یاز کنم تا روشن تر شود .

چنین گویند کی در ولایتی کی آنرا دستاخذ گویند بازگانی بوده است همه  
روزگار در جمع دانش و مال بسر برده، و از هر دو بهره وافر بدست آورده .  
و چند پسر داشت . چون بزرگ شدند و بحدّ مردی رسیدند، دست بکالا،  
پذیر بر گشاندند و بمراد خود خرج کردن گرفتند، و بهیچ کاری مشغول  
نمی‌گشتند کی درمی زیادت شدی . (f.21a)

پذیرا از آن حال ملال بگرفت، ایشانرا پیش بنشانند و پندها داند، و از  
جمله پندها کی ایشانرا داند آن بوز کی گفت -

ای فرزندان، بدانید کی هر کی سه چیز جوید، تا چهار آلت نبوز  
نتواند یافت . اما آن سه چیز کی جوید فراخی زندگانی، و پایگاه  
بلند میان مردم، و راستی کار آن جهان، و اما آن چهار آلت  
بدست آوردن مال از وجهی حلال، و نگاه داشتن مال از وجهی نابکار،  
و ببر آوردن بچنگ آورده، و بکار بردن بر وجهی کی صلاح زندگانی  
و خشنودی خویشان و دوستان در آن بوز و بدان سربری باز دهند .  
و اگر از این چهار آلت یکی کمتر باشد بهیچ گونه بمقصود

نرسند، زیرا کی اگر نیندوزد مالش نبوز پس بکام خون و بکام دوستان  
چگونه قیام کند، و اگر بیندوزد و بر وی نه ایستد مال برون از وی هیچ  
مراد نیافته، و اگر ببرش نیاورد و بر اندک هزینه کردن اعتماد کنند  
همه بروند، کی از سرمه جز گردی بر ندارند و با این همه هم بآخر  
رسند. و چون این همه بکند و در وجه بکار نبرد چه او وجه

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فرویشی کی او را مال نبوز کی روزی بناچار از مال جدا خواهد ماند،  
مانند آب گیری کی آب از هر گوشه در وی می رود، اگر او را گذرگاهی  
نبود بروزگار سولاخ گردن و از هر گوشه رفتن گیرد، بعاقبت از هر  
گوشه آب بروند و هیچ فائده حاصل ناکشته. خداوند مال نیز چون  
بوجه هزینه نکند انجام کار از مال باز ماند و کار آن سری راست  
ناکرده.

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پسران پند بشنیزند و راه بر دست گرفتند. یکی از پسران گردونی بساخت  
و دو گاو در بست و روی بیازگانی و کسب نهاد. و از این دو گاو کسی  
گردون می کشیدند یکی را شنزبه نام بوز و یکی را نندبه.

پس در آن راه کی می رفت ایشانرا گلی سخت پیش آمد و شنزبه در گل بماند،  
و بجهدی تمام و رنجی بلیغ شنزبه را خسته و مانده و رنجور از گل بیرون  
آوردند. بازگان گاورا بر جای بگذشت (f.21b) و مردی را آنجا رها  
کرد، کی او را نگاه دارند و چون بهتر شوند از پس وی ببرند. مرد روزی چند  
آنجا مقام یافت، ملالش بگرفت، شنزبه را بر جای رها کرد و از پس بازگان  
برفت و گفت کی شنزبه بمرد.

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و شنزبه آهسته آهسته می گشت تا آبی و چهرای بغایت بدست آورد، و در آن  
چراگاه می چرید و می چمید و خون را می پرورد بی غمی و خورد خوش، و  
آرام گاه و آسایش یافته. پس روزگاری بر نیامد کی فربه شد و بطرش بجنبید  
ساخت کشیدن و خرامیدن و سرو در زمین خاریدن و بانگ و خروش  
کردن.

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و اندر همان بیشه شیری بوز باصولت و شوکت و هرچ در آن بیشه دزی و  
دامی بوز جمله زیر فرمان وی بوزند، بحکم وی رضا دانه و گردن امر و  
پانشاهی او را نهاده. بسی گرگ و روباه و شغال و دیگر انواع دزد و دام  
در دایره فرمان وی، که گاه بانگ این گاو بشنیدی و شکوهی از وی در دل او

آمذی زیراکي هرگز گاو ندیده بوز و آواز او نشنیده بوز، و هر چند می شکوهید بر خون، پیدا نکرد تا نبادا کی زیردستان وی از آن حال خبر یابند .

و اندرین بیشه دو شغال با وی می بوزند و هر دو زیرک و دانا و پیش‌بین بوزند، اما دمنه مقدم‌تر بوز بدانش و بزرگتر در کارها . نیک نظر کردی و از احوال و رای و تدبیر با خبر بوز، و در هر پایگاهی کی بوزی رضا ندانی بل کی پیشی و بیشی جستی . روزی این دمنه برانر خون کلیله را گفت -

ای برانر، چه می بینی کی این خداوند ما شیر بر یک جای چرا مقیم

گشته است ؟ نه تماشا می کند و نه نشاطی می نماید .

کلیله گفت -

ای برانر، ما را چه کار با چیزی کی جدای از ما نهاده است و بر ما فریضه نیست ؟ و اگر بدان مشغول شویم، بوز کی بمراد ما بر نیاید . در پناه این شیر نشسته ایم و ایمن و ساکن می باشیم و

طعامی بمراد و غذاء بوقت می یابیم . و هر چند کی این پادشاه

ما را حرصی می دارد، بر ما نیز واجب است کی اندازه خرد نگاه

داریم و از حدّ خود در (f.22a) نگذریم، کی هر کسی کی بگفتاری

با کاری دست و زلفان دراز کند، بی نصرتی هم آتش پیش آید کی آن

حمدونه را پیش آمد .

گفت کی -

حمدونه را چه پیش آمد ؟

کلیله گفت کی -

در حکایات آمده است کی روزی حمدونه مردی را دید در روزگر

کی چوبی می ترکانید و تخته می کرد . مانند سواری کی بر اسب

نشیند بر آن چوب نشسته ، پانه می کند و یکی می زند . قضارا

در روزگر بکاری برفت . حمدونه را آن پیشه آرزو کرد، بر آمد و بجای

در روزگر بر شد، و روی سوی جاء در روز کرد و پشت سوی شکاف چوب

کرد، و خایه فرو گذاشته بوز بشکاف تخته فرو رفت . چون آن میخ

پانه بر کند کی دیگری بزند، تخته فراهم آمد و خایه را فرو فشرد .

حمدونه از درد بی هوش گشت و بر جای بماند . زمانی بوز

دروزر بیا مڼد و چوب بکشید، و چندان بر پشت و پهلوی او زد کسی  
 در درخایه فراموش کرد. و این معنی مثلی شد معروف کی  
 گویند -

حمدونه را با دروگری چه کار؟

دمنه گفت -

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این سخن کی گفتی شنیدم و معلوم گشت. اما بدانک نه هر  
 کسی را کی بدرگاه ملوک نزدیک گردن غرض خورد، و آسایش بوز کسی  
 شکم بهرج بر کنی سیر گردن. اما نزدیکی درگاه ملوک از بهر آن  
 بوز کی دوستان شانمانه گردند و دشمنان دژم شوند، کی بر شکم  
 اختصار کردن کار دون همتان بوز، چون سگ گرسنه کی استخوان  
 یابند بدان هزار شانی کند. اما آنک بزرگ همت بوز بهر  
 پایگاهی فرو نیاید و بهر اندکی رضا ندهد، چون شیر کی هرگز  
 آهنگ نخچیر کوچک نکند و چنگال جز بر صید بزرگ نگشاید. و نیز  
 کی چون دون همتی، سگ معلوم شده است تا هزار بار دژم بجنباند  
 پاره نان بوی ندهند و پیل کی بر منشی او معلوم است چون خورد  
 پیش وی آورند تا تملق نکنند و سرش نخارند خوش نخورد.

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پس هرک در پایگاه بزرگ و جاه (عریض) و کامرانی زندگانی کند، اگرچه  
 اندک زیند دراز عمر بوز، و هرک در تنگ دستی و (سختی) حال  
 (f.22b) در گانی زندگانی کند، اگرچه بسیار زیند کوتاه عمر بوز کی  
 عاقلان از جمله بهائم شمرده اند آنرا کی همت او از شکم بر  
 نگذرند.

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کلیله گفت کی -

گفته، تو فهم کردم، اما با دل خون بر اندیش و بدان کی هر کسی را  
 پایگاهی هست و اندازه پدیند است چون حال کسی چنان شد کسی  
 کفایتی باشد و در یاران و (ممیزان) خون همسر گردن و در  
 طبقه خویش قدر و جاه دارند، شاید کی بدان قناعت کند و رضا  
 دهند. و پایگاه ما - بحمد الله - چنان است کی اگر بآن  
 قناعت کنیم روا بوز.

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دمنه گفت کی -

پایگاهها مُباین و متفاوت اُست و خلق را در منازل اشتراکت و  
خداوندِ همت را همتِ او بدان آرز کی پایه، دُونِ بپایگاهِ بلند  
بر رسد . و مردِ بی مروت را همتِ او بدان آرز کی از پایگاهِ بزرگ  
بپایگاهِ حقیر فروز آید، و از پایه بلند فرو آمدن آسانست اما از پایه  
حقیر بالا شدن دشوارست . نه بینی کی سنگ بزرگ را از زمین  
بر کتف بردن چه بسیار بود و دشوار آید، اما از کتف افکندن آسان  
بود ؟ پس بر ما واجب است کچون آلت داریم بلندی منزلت  
طلب کنیم و برین که داریم اقتصار کنیم .

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کلیله گفت -

اکنون مرا باز نما تا خود در سر چه داری و چه عزم کرده ای .

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دمنه گفت کی -

مرد را عقل آنگاه بر او مید بوز کچون کار را دری بیابد، از آن کار  
غافل نباشد . و من می بینم کی این شیر ضعیف رایست و لشگرش  
نیز بی رای و تدبیر اند . و من پای فرا پیش خواهم نهان باشد  
کی بدستِ من کاری بر آید کی جاه و منزلت من بیفزاید .

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کلیله گفت -

و تو چه دانی کی کارِ شیر بر وی شوریده گشته اُست و مصلحتی  
بر وی پوشیده شده است ؟

دمنه گفت -

می دانم از راهِ تجربت و تیزبینی از بهر آنکِ مردِ خردمند و دانا  
و بزرگ چون در کسی نگاه کند و دیده درایت باز کند حال وی بر  
وی پوشیده نماند و چون عنوانِ ظاهرِ او بر خواند معانیِ باطن او  
بجمله بداند .

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کلیله گفت کی -

دانم کی احوال او معلوم تو گشت . بچه در اندر خواهی آمدن  
کی بوی نزدیکِ گردی ؟ (f.23a) و تو هرگز درگاهی نبوده ای و  
خدمت پادشاهان نکرده ای و درین باب هیچ رنج نبرده ای .

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دمنه گفت -

چون زور آمد باز بر گرفتن آسان بوز، و چون زیرکی دل آمد کار

سهل بوز، کی مرد با زور زیر هر باری گرفت بر گیرز و عاقل در  
هر کاری کی شد بسر بوز و مرد فروتن و آهسته هر دلی کسی  
خواهد بچنگ آرد .

کلیله گفت -

آنچ تو می گوی هست، اما پادشاهان بسی زیرکان و دانایان را  
محروم کنند و بسی بی مایگانرا بر کشند؛ چنانک ناک انگور کی بر  
گران مایه ترین درختی پیچد، بر کمترین نیز پیچد؛ ببندی و (بتری)  
ننگند، بآن نگرند کی نزدیکتر باشد . و همچنین زنان بخوب روی و  
رشتی ننگند، بصحبت و نزدیکی نگاه کنند . تو چگونه پایگاه و  
مرتبت چشم داری از شیر، و تو از نزدیکان وی نه ای؟

دمنه گفت -

راست گفتم، اما نه هرک پادشاه نزدیک باشد خواره نزدیک بوزه  
است، بل کی دور بوزه اند آنگاه نزدیک گشته اند . و من نیز  
چون (جهد) بجای آرم همان اومید دارم کی گفته اند کی -  
هرک بدرگاه پادشاه پای بیفشارد و چند چیز بکار دارد، بناچار  
بمراد برسد؛ از آنچ پادشاه بفرماید ننگ ندارد و بار هر کسی  
بر دارد و بهر کاری خشم نیارد و شغلها بآهستگی بگذارد .  
و من بدل نهاده ام کی این همه بکنم .

کلیله گفت -

گیرم کی پیش شیر رفتی و بوی نزدیک گشتی . آن آلت کی بوی  
منزلت و جاه چشم داری چیست؟

دمنه گفت -

من بوی راه یابم و از خو و منش وی آگاه گردم، و از هرچ مراد  
وی نبود بدارم کام از متابعت وی باز نیارم . چون پای در کاری  
نهد کی صلاح وی و دولت وی باشد، آن کار را پیش وی بیاریم و بر  
دیده وی شیرین گردانم و او را بر آن کار دلیری دهم، و آنچ در آن  
کار از سوز بود او را باز نمایم . و اگر دست بکاری (بیارند) کی  
فساد دولت وی در آن بوز آنرا بر دیده وی خوار گردانم و نکوهش  
آن کار آشکارا کنم و آنچ در انجام آن کار از مضرت و رنج بوز

شرح دهم و باز گویم کی -

اندر گذاشتن این شغل (f.23b) از منافع چیست؟  
و در هر دو حال، لفظ خون از سخنی کی در وی آزار خاطر وی بوز،  
نگاه دارم. و چون باری هم چنین باشد، و از من آن بیند کی از  
دیگری ندیده بود، اومید وارم کی دل او بمن مایل گردن از بهر  
آنک -

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مرد با دانش تواند کی حق را در چادر باطل عرض دهد و  
باطل را در حله حق خلوه دهد.

همچنانک مرد صورت گر چون در پیشه خون ایسان [ه] بوز، صورتها  
کند کی کسی پندارن کی در دیوارست و در دیوار نبود، و دیگری  
پندارن کی بیرون است و بیرون نبوز. و من چنان می دانم کچن  
شیر زیرکی و رای و حصافت و تدبیر من ببیند، از نواخت و اکرام  
من هیچ باقی نگذارد.

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کلیله گفت -

اکنون چون این عزم دست کردی، خواهم کی بدانی کی خدمت  
پانشاه کاری کوچک نیست و در نزدیکی ایشان خطرهای بزرگ است؛  
و خردمندان گفته اند کی -

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سه چیز است کی بر وی دلیری نکند، مگر کسی باشد کی  
عاقبت نیندیشد و از وی هر کسی بسلامت نجهد؛ صحبت  
پانشاهان، و راز گشادن با زنان، و خوردن زهر از بهر آزمایش.  
و از اینجاست کی پانشاه را مانده کرده اند بکوهی بلند بانواع نعمت  
و میوه آراسته، و امّا جاء شیر و ببر و گراز و پلنگ و گرگ بوز.  
نعمت او خوش بوز امّا دو دشواری در ضمن آن بوز؛ یکی بر  
رفتن کی با رنج بوز، و دیگر مقام کردن کی با بیم بوز.

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دمنه گفت -

آنچ شرح دادی لَعْمَری کی هیچ خلاف نیست. امّا -  
هرك تن آسانی گزیند، هیچ مراد و کام نیابد و نه بیند، و  
هرك از رنج بترسد بگنج نرسد.  
و گفته اند کی -

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در سه کار بزرگ همتی و خطر زدن بیاید تا مراد بر آید:  
عمل پادشاه، و بازرگانی، دریا، و خصومت دشمنان .  
و حکما گفته اند کی -

مرد صاحبِ مروت و بزرگ همت بدو جای پیدا آید و بجز  
این دو جایگاه نشاید کی از خون رضا دهند: یا نزدیک پادشاهی  
بزرگ گرامی کرده باید یا بدرگاه حقّ بخدمت کمر بسته  
باید . . . (f.24a) مانند پیل کی شکوه او بدو جای بوز  
یا در دست گرازان یا در زیر رکاب ملوک نازان .

کلیله گفت -

چون عزم درست کردی، توکل بر خدای کن، کی آن اندازد کی خیر  
تو و ما در وی باشد، کی هیچ کسی توکل نکرد بر خدای - عَزَّ  
وَجَلَّ - کی الا کار او بمراد او بر آمد .  
دمنه عزم درست کرد و دل بر هرچ پیش آید بنهاد، و روی سوی راه کرد و،  
بدرگاه شیر آمد، و بار خواست و فرمان یافت . در آمد، شیر را دید  
نشسته و همه، لشکری از دزد و دام و سباع چون ببر و یوز و پلنگ و گرگ  
و کبی و روباه و شغال پیشِ وی بخدمت چه نشسته و چه ایستاده . چون  
دمنه در آمد و چشم شیر بر وی افتاد، روی سوی حاضران خوند کرد کی -  
این کیست ؟

گفتند کی -

این پسرِ فلانست .

شیر گفت -

پذیرِ وی را می شناختم .

پس روی بوی کرد و گفت -

تا اکنون کجا می بونی ؟

دمنه گفت -

هرگز از خدمتِ درگاه خالی نبوده ام، و چشم می داشتم کی روزی  
آید کی پادشاه را برای و تدبیر کی خدمت دلست و تا بخدمت  
تن بکار آیم . ملازمان درگاه شاه را واجب است کی دل از آن خالی  
ندارند، کی -



روزی اگر خدمتی را شایسته باشم، جان و دل در پیخ ندارم  
و بحقارت من ننگرد، کی بهمه حال کمتر و حقیرتر از آن  
چوبک بر راه افشاده نبود، کی اگر هیچ کاری را نشاید، خاریدن  
گوش را بکار آید؛ و آدمی عاقل بالغ کمتر از چوبی نباشد.

چون شیر این سخن بشنید، اورا خوش آمد و بدانت کی این دمنه  
صاحب رای و تدبیر است. روی سوی ارکان حضرت خوند کرد و گفت -  
ای بسا مرد کی اورا روزگار در کنجی افکنده بود، و پر و بال اورا  
بدست قهر بر کنده بود، کی دانشی کی در وی باشد بدان رضا  
ندهد، کی او بجاء حقیر فرود آید تا دست کوشش از آستین هنر  
بدر آرد و خوند را چنانک بوز باز نماید؛ بر مثال شعله آتش کی  
خداوند از وی بروشنی و گرمی راضی بوز اما او پیوسته سوی عالم  
علوی کشد کی گوهر اصل او از اینجا است. (f.24b)

چون دمنه این سخن بشنید دانست کی سخن وی جای گیر آمد و این حال  
از وی دل پذیر آمد. بسخن در آمد و گفت -

هرک پیشگاه ملوک سزاوار گشت، واجب باشد کی اگر بنزد وی دانشی  
بوز یا در دل وی روشنای بوز؛ پادشاه خوند را از آن آگاه گرداند تا  
پادشاه وی را بدان پایگاه کی سزاوار بوز فرود آرد، کی اگر او خوند را  
باز ننماید آنگاه پوشیده بماند. مانند تخمی کی در زمین باشد،

هیچ کس نتواند کی باز نماید کی او چیست تا آنگاه کی خوند را  
آشکارا گرداند. و همچنانک برین چاکر واجب است کی خوند را  
باز نماید، بر پادشاه نیز واجب است کی هر کسی را بر قدر آن

دانش کی دارد حرمت دارد تا سررا بجاء سر داشته بود و پاء را  
بجاء پاء کی همچنانک تاج سر در پای خوش ننماید، پای برنجن بر  
سر هم نیکو نیاید. و اگر کسی زیور سر بر پای بندد، هم چنان بوز  
کی ارزی را با گوهر برابر کرده بوز؛ و گوهر را ازین برابری هیچ زیان  
ندارد، آن کس نام مجهولی گیرد. و گفته اند کی -

صحبت با کسی باید کردن کی فضل دست راست بر دست  
چپ بداند.

و چنین آمده است کی هنر مردان والیان پدید آرند و مبارزت

لشکر لشکرکشان آشکارا گردانند و نهان دین و تائویل دانایان  
استخراج کنند . و گفته اند کی -

در سه چیز تفاوت بی اندازه بون : میان مبارز و مبارز و  
میان پیل و پیل و میان دانا و دانا .

و نه هرکه گران بارت تر سوزمند تر، کی اگر مردی صد خروار سنک از  
جاء بجاء نقل کند، آن سوز نیابد کی از ده درمسنک کمتر یا بیشتر  
یا قوت . و هر آنجا کی فریب و مکر بکار آید، بخشم و بدی کار  
راست نگرد . و دانش را اگرچه بنزدیک کسی حقیر یابند نباید  
داشت، کی بسی کوچک بون کی تائیر او بزرگ باشد، چنانک بی کی  
از مردار باز کنند، اگرچه در آن حال حقیر و ذلیل بون، چون از  
وی کمان سازند دست ملوک را شاید و غم و شادی را بکار آید .

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پس دمنه خواست (f.25a) کی بدان حاضران باز نماید کی او را کرامت  
شیر خاصه از بهر معرفت پذیر او نیست، بل کی ویژه از بهر دانش و رای و  
تدبیر و خصافت و خاطر و لطافت نظر اوست . گفت کی -

ملوک را عادت، دیگرست کی کسی را کی بزرگ گردانند و بیایگاهی  
عالی برسانند، نزدیکی پذیران و دوری ایشان ننگند، کی معلومست  
کی هیچ چیزی بمرد نزدیک تر از تن او نیست . و با این همه  
چون بدر آید او را بی رنجی مداومت نتوان کرد و مرد را از  
وی بیم هلاک بون . پس روزی بی منافع و نزدیکی بی سوز، هر دو  
زیان بون، و دوری کی با راحت بون نزدیک شون، و نزدیکی کی  
با مضرت بون دور گردن . و این حال نیک معلوم شود چون  
در حال موش و باز نظر کنی، کی موش خانگی است، اما چون  
زیان کار بون او را دور کرده اند و در هلاک او بکوشیده اند، و باز  
وخشی است اما چون سوزمند آمد او را چنان عزیز دارند کی  
جاء او بگاه نشست دست شاه بون .

چون دمنه ازین سخن فارغ گشت، شیر را سخن وی خوش آمد و دلش بوی  
مایل تر گشت . و او را بستود و سخن وی پسندید و روی بحاضران کرد  
و گفت -

پادشاه باید کی حق دانایان فرو نگذارد و بزیرکان بنظر حقارت ننگرد،

کی خلق درین معنی بر دو طبقه اند: گروهی را سرکشی و تندی در طبع بوز، و مثال ایشان چون مثال مار بوز کی اگر کسی پای بر وی نهند و مار وی را بنگزند، در عقل نبود کی بدان اعتماد دگر باره پای بر وی نهند، کی اگر آن بار نگزید و طبع خون پوشیده داشت ممکن بوز کی این بار طبع خون باز نماید و نگزند و بگزاید. و مردی دیگر بوز کی طبع وی سازندگی و خوش خوی بوز، اما او را نیز دلیل نباید داشت کی بهمه حال آهستگی و نرمی او بیش از آن نیست، کی در صندل سپید، و با این همه چون او را سخت بساء طبع اصلی بگذارند و گرم گردن و راحت وی برنج باز گردن.

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چون دمنه در دل شیر جای دیند و خود را نزدیک یافت، (f.25b) خلوت خواست و گفت -

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در ملك خون نظر می کنم؛ او را می بینم بر يك جای مقام کرده و دل از نشاط و تماشا بر داشته.

شیر نخواست کی دمنه را معلوم گردن کی او دلی دارند کی از چیزی بترسد و بهراسد. گفت -

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روزی چند دل من چنین خواست.

تا همی ایشان درین سخن بوز، کی شنزبه آنجا کی بوز از سر نشاط بانگی سهمگین بر آورد و شیر از جای خون فرا جنبید. دمنه بجای آورد کی حال چیست. گفت کی -

گمان برم کی این گوشه گرفتن و بر يك جای نشستن از بهر این بانگ است کی می آید.

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[شیر] گفت -

الحق بانگ سخت است. اگر در خورد این بانگ قوت و توانای هست، پس بهمه حال این جایگاه گذاشته بهتر.

دمنه گفت کی -

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شاهرا جز این شکوه او هیچ چیزی دیگر در دل آمده نیست، از آنک نه هر بانگی را قوتی و شوکتی در قفا بوز، و ببانگ جز کسی نترسند کی بد دل بوز، زیرا کی گفته اند کی -

شکر را آفت از آب است، و بزرگرا آفت از تکبر است. و دل

ضعیف را آفت از بانگ است .

و در بعضی امثال کی بزرگان گفته اند، این سخن را بیانی شافی است، کی معلوم شود کی نه از هر بانگی شاید شکوهیدن، کی بسی بانگ صعب بوز کی از باز بوز، چنانک در امثال آمده است .

شیر گفت کی -

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آن مثل چیست ؟

دمنه گفت کی -

چنین آمده است کی وقتی روباهی گرسنه ببیسه، رسید و در آن بیشه طبلی افتاده بود، و باز شاخ درخت را می جابید و از آن طبل با سیب شاخ بانگی سخت بر می آمد . روباه گفت -

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بهمه حال این بانگ باین صعی از قوتی تواند بوز .  
چندان بکوشید کی طبل را سولاخ کرد . چون بدید در میانه هیچ نداشت، با خون گفت کی -

ای عجب . چنان می نماید کی هرچ بانگ بلند تر دارد و تن بزرگتر، میان او تهی تر و بی مغز تر بوز .

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و من این مثل بدان یاد کردم تا خداوند مرا معلوم شود کی از بانگ هراسیدن شرط نبوز . و این بانگ کی می آید چنان دامن کی اگر تفحص کار او بکنم همچنین بوز . اگر خداوند روا دارد، من بروم و ازین کار باز دامن . ملک باید کی بر همین جایگاه  
(f.26a) مقام کند تا من باز گردم .

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این بگفت و بفرمان شیر روی سوی شنزبه نهاد و برفت . چون دمنه از پیش شیر روانه کرد شیر گفت کی -

این نه رای و تدبیر بوز کی من کردم بفرستادن دمنه، کی چند چیز آنست کی بیم آن بوز کی چاکرا بخیات و غدر آرد؛ یکی آنک اورا بی گناهی از خون دور دارند و بکرم باز نیارند . دیگر آنک چاکر در نفس خویش صاحب قناعت نبود، حرص و آز و طمع و بیشی اورا پر غدر و خیانت دارد . دیگر آنک گناهی کرده بوز و از عقوبت ترسد آن غدر را سبب رستگاری خون داند . دیگر آنک اورا سختی برسد و آن از وی بر توان داشتن و بر نداری . دیگر آنک خون

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در سرشت او بد باشد و از آن نشکیند . دیگر آنک چیزی در دست دارند از وی باز گیری . دیگر آنک عملی دارند او را معزول کنی . دیگر آنک در میان همسران خود گناهی کند از ایشان در گذاری و او را عقوبت کنی یا عقوبت او بیش از دیگران فرما . دیگر آنک در رنج و خدمت با دیگران یار بود و پایگاه ایشان بر وی

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بیفزای . دیگر آنک در دینی او خللی بوز و از مهتر خود در آن موافقت نیابد، یا در کاری بوز کی سوز او بوز و زیان مملکت باشد . دیگر آنک با دشمنی از آن پادشاه دوستی و صحبت دارند .

این جمله خصلتها کی گفته آمد آنست کی چاکرانرا بر خیانت حمل کند . و این دمنه با این دها و زیرکی کی او را هست، مدتی، دراز بدرگاه ما بوزه است و ما او را هیچ وقتی نوازشی نکرده ایم و بوی التفاتی ننموده ایم . مبادا کی او را این معنی بر آن دارند کی با وی دست یکی کند و ما را بگذارند . و نیز ممکن گردن کی آنجا بروند و این خداوند بانگ را از من قوی تر بیند و با عدت و سازتر یابد .

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دل او [شیر] سوی او [دمنه] نگراند، ازین گونه با خود اندیشه می کرد . این تفکر او را بر آن داشت کی، از جای خود برخاست و آهسته آهسته بآن جانب همی رفت و همی نگرید، تا آنگاه کی دمنه از دور بدیدار آمد . چون بدید کی (f.26b) تنهاست و با وی هیچ کسی نیست، دل وی قرار گرفت اما بر خود هیچ پیدا نکرد . دمنه در آمد و پیش وی بخدمت بایستاد . شیر گفت -

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چه کردی و چگونه آمدی ؟

دمنه گفت -

آنجا کی رفتم گاوی دیدم و این بانگ وی می دارد .

گفت -

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پایگاه او در زور و قوت و نطش تا کجا دیدی ؟

گفت -

در وی هیچ صولت ندیدم . و با وی همچنان سخن گفتم کی با همسران و هم پایان، و او مرا بهمان دیده نگاه کند کی دوستان

هم منزلت کنند؛ و هر ساعت بوی نزدیک تر می شدم و گستاخی  
همی کردم مگر از وی جدتی آید کی مرا دست برد او معلوم  
شود. دیدم کی بس بصولت نیست.

شیر گفت کی -

بدان مفرور نباید گشتن و این حال را بر ضعف حمل نباید کردن،  
کی -

بانر سخت بر گیاهی خورد بگذرد و بزیان نیاورد، اما چون  
بدرختی بزرگ رسد، از بن و بیخ بر کشد.  
و همچنین بزرگان بر یک دیگر زنند، و بکوچک تران قصد کمتر کنند.  
دمنه گفت -

چنانست کی خذاوند می گوید. هیچ خصمی را کوچک نباید  
داشت تا از وی پرهیز بدانی کردن؛ اما چندان بزرگ نیز نباید  
داشت کی سهمی از وی در دل آید، کی حجاب چاره کار گردن.  
و این خذاوند بانگ را من دیدم و در حال وی نظر و تأمل کردم؛  
آن قوت ندارد کی شاه مرا این همه اندیشه وی در دل باید  
کرد. اگر فرمایند، بروم و او را پیش خذاوند بخدمت بیاورم تا کمر  
بندگی بر میان بندد و دست از آستین چاکری بیرون آرد و فرمان  
بر دار و مطیع بوزد.

شیر شان گشت و گفت -

نیک آید.

دمنه روی بکار آورد و پیش گاو رفت و بایستاد گستاخ وار - آن چنان کی  
گفتی کی چندین ساله با وی پیوند و صحبت دارند - و زبان بر گشاد و  
گفت کی -

مرا شیر پیش تو فرستاده است تا ترا پیش او برم، و مرا

فرمودست کی -

اگر در ساعت و حال روی بخدمت نهد او را بمیانجی  
تو - کی دمنه - از عقوبت تقصیری و تهاونی کی در  
خدمت ما کرده است ایمن گردانم و این گناه از وی در  
گذرانم. و اگر هیچ گونه (f.27a) سرباز زند و بخدمت

نیاید و باز گردن و مرا مطیع نبوز، تو بیا و مرا آگاه گردان  
تا تدبیر کارِ او بسازم .

شنزبه گفت -

این شیر کیست، کی ترا پیش من فرستاده است، و کجا بوز ؟  
گفت کی -

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او پادشاهِ رزگان این بیشه است، و هرچ درین حوالی رز و  
دامست، از هر جنسی و نوعی، زیر فرمان اوست .  
شنزبه چون این بشنید بترسید . گفت -

ای دمنه، اگر تو مرا از وی ایمنی کنی و عهد و پیمان بستانی،  
من بر خیزم و بخدمت آیم .

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دمنه اورا ایمن بداد و عهد کرد و بر گرفت و بخدمت پیش شیر  
آورد . شیر شنزبه را بنواخت و خوش بپرسید و گفت -  
بذین بیشه کی آمدی و بچه کار آمدی ؟  
شنزبه قصه خون باز گفت . شیر گفت -

چون اینجاگاه آمدی، مجلس ما را ملازمت نمای و دوری مجوی،  
کی ما در باب تو آنچ شرط اغرار و اکرام باشد، بجای آوریم . و بر  
ما واثق باش کی در دل خون بر تو گشاده داریم و ترا از خاصگان  
و نزدیکان خون شماریم .

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شنزبه شان گشت و شیر را دعا و ثنا گفت و خدمت بر دست گرفت .  
شیر اورا بخون نزدیک کرد و دل بر وی بنهاند، و اورا پایگاه بیفزود و صاحب  
شر شد . و هر چند روز بر آمد، شنزبه بشیر نزدیک تر گشت و هر چند  
شیر اورا بیش آزمایش کرد، دانشی دیگر و خردی دیگر از دل او سر بر زد،  
تا کار بجاء رسید کی از جمله خاصگان، شیر از شنزبه نزدیکتر هیچ کس  
نبوز .

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چون دمنه نگاه کرد و آن قربت و نزدیکی شنزبه بدید و پای در نهاند  
او بدمنه و دیگر ویژگان، و هر ساعتی شنزبه را با شیر خلوتی دیگر بوزی  
و رازی دیگر گفتندی، آتش حسد در دل او بجوشید و آفتابِ راحتِ او بابر  
غم پوشیده گشت، و روز روشن بر دیده او تاریک شد . این شکایت با  
برادر خون کیله باز گفت و درد خون را آشکارا کرد کی -

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ای برادر، این کار بنگر کی من کردم، کی بدست خویش آب روی خود  
در باختم و جایگاه و پایگاه خود بدیگران دادم.

گفت -

چه کردی ؟

گفت -

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(f.27b) این شنبه را بیاوردم و باین شیر نزدیک کردم تا اکنون  
بیک باره پای بر کندن من نهان .

کلیله گفت -

ای برادر ترا همان پیش آمد کی آن مرد ( راهب را ) .

دمنه گفت -

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چگونه بوز حال آن مرد راهب ؟

گفت -

آورده اند در حکایات کی مردی بوز راهب و او را با یکی از ملوک  
قربت افتاد . روزی او را خلعتی بزرگوار بداد و چشم مردی دزد  
بر آن افتاد . طمع در کرد و هیچ وجه ندید کی چگونه دزد .  
همان چاره دید کی بیامد و خود را بخدمت مرد راهب فرو

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داشت و ( نژی ) راهبان بر آمد و خدمتی واجب و شایسته

بر دست گرفت، تا دل راهب بر کار وی قرار پذیرفت و او را بر

مال و کالاء خود ایمن داشت، تا روزی دست یافت آن جامه .

جمله بر گرفت و بشد، و راهب دل تنگ و غمناک بماند و ساخت

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دست بر سر و سینه زن و فریاد و خروش کردن و نوحه و زاری

نمونن . ازین کارش هیچ دری ( نگشاد ) . بر خاست و

در طلب دزد و کالا برفت .

و بآن نزدیکی شهری بوز . گمان وی بآن جایگاه کشید، روی بدان

شهر نهان . در راه دو بزرگوهی دید روی بهم آورده و یک دیگر را

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می زنند، و از صعیب زخم خون ازیشان روان شده . روباهی

بیامد کی خون خورن، در میانه غافل شد . بزان کوهی هر دو

روی بوی آوردند و او در میانه کشته شد . مرد برهمن از آن

جایگاه بر گذشت و روی بآن شهر کرد .



چون بآن شهر رسید شبانگاه بوز، هیچ جایگاهی نیافت جز بخانه پیر  
زنی کی گروهی زنان سُست قاعده در زیر دست او بودند . و در  
آن جمله کنیزکی بوز خوب روی و بیش مزد تر کی هر گاه کی برفتی  
کالا بیشترک آوردی . اتفاق را این کنیزک بر جوانی عاشق گشت و دل  
بکناره در وی بست، و از کار باز ماند . این پیر زن با خوند تدبیر  
کرد کی -

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مرا چاره همانست کی این جوانرا بوجهی از میان بر دارم،  
مگر این کنیزک با سر کار آید .

برفت و پاره دارو، گشنده بیامیخت، و مرد را مهمان خویش برد و  
شراب بر وی پیمود تا مست گشت . چون سر (f.28a) ببالین

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باز نهاد، آن پیر زن برفت و دارو بیاورد و نیی ساخته بوز بر  
مثال زَبطان . دارورا در وی کرد و بر مخرج بسین مرد نهاد  
کی در وی دمند و بکشد . اتفاق را بازی از مخرج مرد مساعت  
کرد و دارورا باز گردانید و در خُلق آن زن مکاره کرد، و اورا  
هلاک کرد و بر جای بیفتان و بمرد . راهب آن بدید و در تعجب  
آن کار اندیشه کرد و با خوند گفت -

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هیچ کسی مباد کی بر کسی مکر سکالذ، کی بناچار آن مکر  
و حیلت بوی باز گردن .

در همین تعجب از همان جایگاه روی بر تافت و در طلب دزد  
بشتافت، و راه شهری دیگر در پیش گرفت . میهمان مردی  
کفشگر افتاد . کفشگر مهمان مردی رفت و زن خوند را گفت کی -  
این مرد راهب را نیک دار و خدمت او بجاء آور .

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اتفاق را این زن با مردی سرکاری بد داشت و زن مردی حجام  
در میان کار بود، و این زن حجام بدانست کی کفشگر بخانه نیست .  
پیامد و زن کفشگرا گفت -

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چگوی؟

گفت -

برو و مرد را آگاه کن، کی کفشگر شب را آید و مست باشد .  
زن حجام برفت و مرد را آگاه کرد . شبانگاه مرد پیامد و بر در

خانه بوعده بنشست تا وقت شوز . چنان افتاز کی آن کفشگر زودتر  
بخانه باز آمد؛ مردی بیگانه را دید بر در خانه نشسته . بر سر  
کار شد و در آمد و زن را بخوب گرفت و بسی بر وی زد و موی  
اورا بگرفت و اورا بر ستون خانه بست .

چون شبانگاه گشت و عالم تاریک شد، زن حجام بر وعده بیامد و  
زن کفشگر را گفت کی -

اینک این مرد آمده است .

زن کفشگر گفت -

آخر می بینی کی مرا چه کار افتاده است ؟

گفت -

چیست ؟

گفت -

شوی من مرا بگرفت و بر چوب بست . اگر چاره بوی  
بآمدن تقصیر نکردمی . چاره هست اگر تو مساعدت  
نما .

[باز] گفت -

تو یک ساعت بیا تا من ترا بجای خود بر بندم و من  
آنجاگاه روم .

زن حجام گفت کی -

من این رنج را از بهر تو آسان پندارم .

همچنان کرد و زن کفشگر برفت بر مراد خویش . (f.28b)

چون ساعتی بر آمد کفشگر زن خویش را آواز داد . زن حجام از  
بیم آنک آواز او بداند آواز ندان . مست پنداشت کی جواب بوجه  
پنداشتی و تعنت و لجاج نمی دهد . دیگر باره آواز داد ؛ هم  
جواب نیافت . بر خاست و دگر باره چوب بکشید و چندانک مانده  
شد بر پشت و پهلوی زن حجام زد و زن حجام هیچ گونه آواز  
نیارست دادن . هر چند او خاموش تر بود، مرد را خشم بیفزود .  
کار بکشید و بینی زن حجام ببرید و بدست وی داد که -

اینک این هدیه از من و بمعشوقه خود ده ، کی من هیچ

تحفه ازین بهتر نمی دانم بوی ده تا بیازکار تو دارد و غم  
تو با وی بسیار .

این بکرد و بگفت و بخت . چون ساعتی بیوز، زن کفشگر باز آمد .  
شوی خود را خفته دید، زن حجام را از بند بکشاد و خود را بر جاء  
او بیست، و زن حجام بینی بدست گرفت و برفت سوی خانه خویش .  
پس زن کفشگر آواز بر آورد و دعا و تضرع و زاری می کرد و می  
گفت باز -

خدایا، اگر دانی من گناه کارم مرا بر همین غم و محنت  
بگذار، و اگر دانی کی گناه کار نیستم و این مرد بر من  
ستم و بیدان کرده است، این رنج از من بردار و بینی  
مرا درست گردان .

چون مرد این سخن بشنید گفت -

ای زن نابکار، این چه سخن است کی تو می کوای ؟

زن او را گفت کی -

ای ظالم ناخدای، ترس . بیا و در نگر کی تو چه کردی و  
خدای - عَزَّ وَجَلَّ - کی کرد . بنگر کی حال مرا چه  
خوب کرد .

مرد گفت -

ای زن جازو، این رنگی و بندی دیگرست .

بر خاست و چراغ بر افروخت و بیامد و نگاه کرد . چون بینی  
زن را درست شده دید، بخدای باز گشت و از زن عذر خواست و  
خواهش و زاری کرد و پوزش نمود تا زن با وی دل خوش کرد .  
و از آن جانب، چون زن حجام بخانه باز گشت با دلی سوخته و  
جانی خاسته و بینی بریده، در اندیشه و اندوه آن مانده کی -

پیش شوی چه عذر آرم و خون را چه حجت انگیزم، کی این چه  
بوز و چه افتاد ؟

چون هنگام سپیده دم گشت، (f.29a) حجام از خواب در آمد  
و زن را گفت کی -

آلات من بجمله بیار کی مرا بخانه یکی از بزرگان می

بایذ رفت .

زن بیامد و ستره تنہاہ بیاورد . مرد گفت -

آن آلات دیگر بیاور .

نیاورد و چندان لجاج بکرد کی مرد خشم آلود گشت و ستره بر وی بینداخت . در حال، زنك خود را بزر می زد و بخاك بفلتید و بانگ

و فریاد و نفیر بر آورد و می گفت -

آہ بینی، آہ بینی !

و بر مرد چندان تشنیع بکرد کی اندازہ نبود . نفیر و مشغلہ بگوش خویش و پیوند زن برسید، جملہ جمع آمدند و مرد حجام را بگرفتند و پیش قاضی بردند، و مرد برہمن از بہر نظر و تجربت با ایشان بہم نزدیک قاضی رفت .

چون پیش قاضی رسیدند، قاضی حجام را گفت -

این چرا کردی و بینی، این زن چرا بریدی ؟

حجام هیچ حجت نہداشت، خاموش فرو ماند . قاضی بفرموندند کی او را عقوبت کنند و داند زن از وی بخواهند .

مرد راہب [قاضی] را صبر پرسید، آواز بر آورد و گفت -

ای قاضی، این کار بر خلاف آنست کی ترا خبر داندہ آند و آگاہ کردہ آند، کی کالا، من دزد نبرد، و این رو باہرا نہ آن دو رنگ کشتند، و این زن را منتسی، نہ آن مرد حجام برید، کی این ہمہ ما بر خود کردیم .

قاضی گفت -

این چہ سخن است کی تو می گوای ؟

مرد راہب زبان برگشان و این قصہ از آغاز تا انجام یاد کرد . اکنون تو، ای دمنہ، برادر منی، اما این کار تو با خود بدست خون کردی .

دمنہ جواب داد کی -

این مثل کی تو گفتی، ای برادر، شنیدم و چنانست کی تو گفتی و

این بد من کردم با تن خون . اما چون کار افتاد، بچارہ

مشغول بایذ گشتن و من - کی دمنہ ام - امروز آن نمی

جویم کی پایگاه و خدمتِ من بالا، آن باشد کی بوده است .  
 اما این قدر التماس می کنم کی مگر بهمان قدر باز گردم کی  
 بوزم ، کی سه خصلت آنست کی مرد خردمند باید کی در وی نظر  
 کند و هرچ حیلت و چاره وی بوز بجای آرد و از خون تقصیر روا  
 ندارند : یکی نظر کردن در زیانی کی گذشته بوز و سوزی کی رفته  
 بوز، تا آن (f.29b) چنان زیانی باز نیاید و آن چنان سوزی  
 باز نگردد ؛ دوم نظر کردن در سوز و زیانی کی در وی باشی، تا  
 از دست نروزی ؛ سیوم نظر کردن در سوز [و] زیانی کی آمدن وی  
 چشم داری تا آن سوز بی خبر از توفایت نشود و آن زیان بغفلت  
 در تو نرسد .

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و من ( هر چند ) در کار خون نظر می کنم ؛ این کار خون را  
 چاره آن می دانم ، کی گوشه بگیرم تا آنگاه کی کار ایشان رنگی دیگر  
 گیرد ، زیرا کی این دوستی ایشان از حد و اندازه بگذشت و هرچ  
 بغایت رسد ، وقت بوز کی باز گردد ؛ یا در حیل و چاره آن ایستم  
 کی میان ایشان دشمنی افکنم .

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کلیله گفت کی -

من باین رای کی شیر را در باب این شنبه بیفزودست بس زیادت و  
 نقصان نمی بینم ، کی شاید کی کسی بر وی حسد بوز .

دمنه گفت -

ای برادر ، بدان که بدرگاه پادشاه پایگاه و جاه از بهر چند خصلت  
 است : یکی از بهر حرمان و مراد ، و دوم از بهر فتنه ، و سوم از  
 بهر هوا ، چهارم از بهر سخت دلی ، پنجم از بهر روزگار ، ششم از بهر  
 کم دانی کردن اگر خواهند . اما حرمان آن بوز کی چون از  
 دوست یک دل و نصیحت جوی باز ماند و یا وقتی خواهد کی بدوستی  
 چیزی رساند ، پادشاه او را جاه دوستان بگیرد ، و در پناه وی آن چیز  
 کی خواهد بدوستان رساند . و اما فتنه آن بوز کی اگر روزی  
 میان خلق جنگی بوز و پراگندگی و محنتی پدید آید ، کی هر کسی  
 بخون مشغول گردید او آن روز آمن بود .

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و اما هوا آن بوز ، کی مرد بر معاشرت زیان حریص بوز و

سخن شنیدن و گفتن دوست دارن، و شراب و شکار و آنچ بدین  
ماند در دل وی جای گیر بوز، و این مرادها در پناه ملوک نیک  
توان بر آوردن . و اما سخت دلی آن بوز، کی مردی باشد کی  
جنگ و جلب و سفاهت دوست دارن، و چون بیانشاه پیوست این  
کند و کمترک اندیشد .

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و اما گردش روزگار آن بوز، کی اگر وقتی خلق را ( قحطی ) رسد  
و یا سختی روی بخلق نهد، او در حمایت پانشاه زندگانی کند .  
(f.30a) و اما کم خردی آن بوز، کی خواهد کی جاء کی آهستگی  
باید کردن، گرمی و درشتی کند، و آنجا کی گرمی و درشتی باید  
کردن آهستگی و نرمی کند .

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و این اگرچه در عقل نیست آنرا کی پیش پانشاه بوز، این همه پیش  
روز، و این شنزبه را این همه در پناه شیر راستست . اما من  
اومید می دارم کی چون من پای درین کار نهم، تمام گردن .

کلیله گفت -

گیرم کنو جهد بجاء آری، اما با گاو طاقت نداری کی از تو بزورتر  
است، و از شیر بر تو گرامی تر است، و درین روزگار بسی یاران و  
دوستان بینگیخت و بسی پشت بگرفت، و نه همانا کی تو بر وی چیره  
گردی و بر وی ظفر یابی . دست از کار او بدار و او را میازار  
کی امروز باری دشمن تو نیست . نبازا کی این کار تمام  
نگردن، آنگاه چون او دشمنی قوی زیادت کرده باشی .

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دمنه گفت کی -

تو بدین کوچکی و ضعیفی من منگر، کی کار جهان بزرگی کالیزد و  
قوت جثت تعلق ندارد، برای تدبیر و دانش تعلق دارن . ای  
بسا کس کی با ضعف تن و کوچکی کالیزد کارها بدست او بر آمد  
و تمام کرد، کی بسی بزرگان آن نتوانستند کردن . مگر نشنیده کی  
زاغ ضعیف و بی قوت چه حیلست ساخت با ماری بزرگ کی ده بار  
بقوت و زور چند او بوز، و مراد خود چگونه بر آورد ؟

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کلیله گفت کی -

این داستان چگونه بوزه است ؟

دمنه گفت کی -

بدان کی آورده اند در حکایات کی زاغی بوز در بیشه<sup>۱</sup> و بر درختی  
 آشیانه داشت . و بهمان نزدیکی کوهی بوز و در آن کوه ماری  
 بزرگ و سیاه نشیمنی داشت . هر گه این زاغ بچه نهازی، مار  
 بیامدی و بچگان او جمله بخوردی . چون در این زاغ بغایت  
 برسید و داغ فراق این بچگان در دل وی کارگر آمد، با شغالی دوستی  
 داشت، این گله با وی بکرد . این شغال گفت -  
 من ترا حیلتي بیاموزم ، کی اگر چنانک من بگویم بکنی ، باز  
 رهی .

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گفت -

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چرا فرمان تو نبرم، بعد ما کی من بارها<sup>۲</sup> بسیار (f.30b)  
 اندیشه کرده ام کی بروم و وقتی کی وی خفته باشد، دیدم<sup>۳</sup>  
 او بر کنم اگر چه بیم هلاک من در آنست .

شغال گفت کی -

چاره چنان باید ساخت، کی مقصود بر آید و جان بر جای  
 بود؛ چون چاره چنان سازی کی بتو باز گردن، مثال تو مثال  
 آن سنگ پشت باشد با خر چنگ .

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زاغ گفت -

چگونه بوز این حال ؟

گفت -

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در حکایات آورده اند کی سنگ پشتی در آبی بسیار جایگاه  
 داشت و وطن ساخته بوز، و ماهی می گرفت و می خورد؛ و  
 بآن آب زندگانی<sup>۴</sup> خوش می کرد . روزگار بر آمد و ضعیف  
 و پیر گشت، و هر چند می کوشید کی ماهی بگردن نتوانستی، و  
 بیشتر روزگار بگرسنگی بسر بردی . پس در کار خون اندیشه  
 کرد کی چاره ای سازد کی از گرسنگی برهد . تدبیر بکرد و  
 برفت، و بر گوشه تنها غمناک بنشست .

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خر چنگی بود در همان آب؛ آشنا<sup>۵</sup> این سنگ پشت بوز . چون  
 او را غمناک و اندوهمند دید، با خون اندیشه کرد کی -

آشنا از برای غم و شادی بوز .  
و بر خاست و بنزدیک سنگ پشت آمد و گفت -  
ای همسایه ، ترا غمناک می بینم . مرا از حال  
خود خبر ده ، کی من چاره تو بسازم .  
سنگ پشت گفت -

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ای برادر ، مرا غمی پیش آمده است کی تو در آن  
غم با من یاری کنی .  
[باز] گفت کی -

امروز بر کنار این آب نشسته بوزم ، دو صیاد دیدم ،  
کی با یک دیگر می گفتند کی -

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اندرین آب ماهی بسیارست . ما چون از  
آن آب کی اکنون دست داریم ببردازیم ، روی  
باین ماهیان آوریم .

و چون این آب از ماهیان تهی گردد ، من بی غذا  
ایمانم .

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خر چنگ برفت و ماهیانرا خبر کرد . ماهیان بجمله بر  
خاستند و پیش سنگ پشت رفتند و گفتند کی -

ما ندانستیم کی ترا در باب ما این شفقت است .  
اکنون چون معلوم ما گشت ، اینک پیش تو آمذیم .  
در کار ما اندیشه بکن تا خود تدبیر کار ما چیست .  
سنگ پشت گفت کی -

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آدمی دشمنی بزرگ است و با وی برابری کردن  
روی نیست ؛ و چون با کسی بر نیا . از وی گریختن  
ننگ نیست . (f.31a) و من درین کار تدبیر

همان دانم کی بر سر این کوه جا می دانم خوش و  
پاکیزه و آبها روان و گیا و سبزه و مرغزار بی اندازه ،  
از راه دور و از گذار آدمیان بر کناره . و من این  
جایگاه را بجای بخواهم گذاشتن و آنجا خواهم رفتن ؛  
و کار شما ، شما به دانید .

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گفتند -

اگر مَرِد می کنی و ما را ببری، هم نیک بوز .

( گفت ) -

روا بوز .

ماهیان هر روزی دو دو و سه سه بنزدیک وی آمدند، کی -

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ما را آن جایگاه بر .

سنگپشت ایشانرا بر گرفت و بر آن تلّ بردی و بخوردی و

بخفتی . تا روزی خر چنگ گفت -

مرا می باید کی یک بار مرا با خویشان ببری تا آن

جایگاهرا ببینم .

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سنگپشت گفت -

روا بوز .

اورا بر گرفت و با خوز بسرِ آن کوه برد و جا' بوی بنمود، و

اورا بسخن گستاخ همی کرد و نزدیک در می رفت . خر

چنگ را همی ناگاه چشم بر استخوانها' ماهیان افتاد؛ بدانست

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کی این علجوم با ماهیان خیانت کرده است و با وی همان

معنی در سر دارد . اورا غافل بکرد و آن ساخها' خوز

فرا کرد و گلو' علجوم سخت بگرفت و بیفشرد، و چندان

نداشت کی بگشت . و خر چنگ باز گشت و از آن حال

ماهیانرا خبر داد .

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پس شغال گفت زاغ را، کی -

من این مثل از بهر آن زدم تا ترا معلوم شوز کی بسی

حیلتها باشد کی بسکالید باز گردن . اما من ترا چاره ای

بسازم کی، اگر بجای توانی آوردن، مقصود تو بر آید و بر آن

مار سیاه ظفر یابی .

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گفت -

بگوی تا چیست .

گفت -

تو پرنده ای و بهر جای راه یابی تدبیر آن کن، کی جا' زیوری

قیمتی آن مُحْتَشَمَان بر پای، و ببری چنانك ایشان ترا می بینند؛  
و افتان خیزان می روی تا خَلق در قفاه تو بیایند . چون  
بنزدیک سولاخ مار رسی، از منقار بیفکنی کی بهمه حال چون  
مردم آنجا رسند، آن مار را ببینند؛ تا نکشند باز نگذند .

زاغ در حال بپریذ؛ زنی دید بر بام خانه<sup>۱</sup> نشسته و طاسی پیش  
نهاز و سر شانه می کرد، زیور از خود جدا کرده و بگوشه<sup>۱</sup> نهاده .  
زاغ در آمد و بمنقار برگرفت و بر پریذ افتان (f. 31b) خیزان .  
چو زاغ بر آن گشت، خَلق از پس وی روان برا صفت همی پریذ؛ تا  
بسر سولاخ مار برسید زیور بیفکند . و مردم بیامزدند و زیور بر  
گرفتند و مار را بدیدند؛ و جوانی در آمد و حربه بدست گرفت و  
بگلو<sup>۱</sup> مار فرو برد و رخایش هلاک کرد؛ و شرّ وی از زاغ و آشیانه  
و بچگانش کفایت گشت .

من این مثل از بهر آن زدم، تا ترا معلوم گردن کی کار بنزدگی  
شخص ندارد، و بچاره و حیل بسیار کار پیش شاید برد کی بزور و  
قوت نروزی .

کلیله گفت کی -

چنانست کی تو گفتی، امّا این آن جایگاه بوز کی خصم تو زور داشتی  
و صاحب دانش و خرد و حصافت نبودی . امّا این شنزبه هم زور  
دارد و هم خداوند رای و تدبیر است . نه پندارم کی از خصومت  
او هیچ بدست داری .

دمنه گفت -

آری، چنین است . لکن او بر من ایمن است و از آن ایمنی او  
غفلت زاید، و بغفلت او مراد من بر آید؛ و مرا خوند اعتماد آن  
می باشد کی بر وی ظفر یابم، همچنانك آن خرگوش بر آن شیر  
ظفر یافت .

کلیله گفت -

آن چگونه بوز ؟ باز گوی تا بدانم .

دمنه گفت کی -

آورده اند در حکایات کی شیری بوزه است در بیشه<sup>۱</sup> خوش و خرم، و

آبادانِ آبِ روان، و سایه درختان، و صغیرِ مرغان، و علفی بی اندازه و فراوان، و وحشی بسیار؛ و وقت و عیشِ شیر خوش بوز . اما و حوشِ آن جایگاه را از آن نعمت و خوشی هیچ سوزی نبود، کی از بیمِ شیر چریدن و چمیدن ممکن نمی گشت . آن روز و دام جمله گرد آمدند و تدبیری بکردند و مکرری ساختند و بیک جمع اتفاق کردند . و پیشِ شیر آمدند و بر روی ثنا خواندند، و گفتند -

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مارا درین بیشه بوزن از بیمِ تو ممکن نیست، و ترا نیز هر وقتی کی قوتی و نخچیری بکار می باید بسی رنج بتورسد تا بدست آوری . و ما درین کار اندیشه ای کرده ایم و تدبیری ساخته ایم کی اگر تو رضا دهی هر دو جانب را نیکو بوز .

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گفت -

آن چیست ؟

گفتند -

ما هر یکی ازین اجناس و حوش هر روزی بنوبت<sup>۵</sup> نخچیری پیشِ تو آریم، بدان وقت کی هنگام چاشت تو باشد، بی رنج (f.32a) و تعب بشرطی کی تو ما را ایمنی گردانی و عهدی بکنی کی ما را غدر نکنی .

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شیر عهد کرد و برین شرط و پیمان از هم باز گشتند . و هر روز بر موجبِ پیمان و قول خویش نخچیری پیشِ شیر می بردند، و در بیشه ایمن و ساکن می گشتند؛ تا روزی کی نوبت بخرگوشی رسید . بیامد و بنزدیک یاران خویش گفت -

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اگر شما با من یار باشید و آهستگی نمایید، من شما را از بلا و محنتِ این شیر باز رهانم .

گفتند -

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آنچ از ما در می خواهی چیست ؟

(گفت ) -

امروز، کی نوبت مراست، بر من هیچ کس موکل مکنید و زمان دهید تا دیرتر بروم؛ تنها بوز کی آنچ سکالیده ام

پیش برم .

گفتند -

روا بوز .

خرگوش ساعتی بمولید تا از آن وقت کی هر روز چاشت شیر بردندی  
 اندکی در گذشت ، و بر خاست و آهسته می آمد . چون در رفت ،  
 شیر را گرسنگی خبره گشت و خشم در وی کار کرد . از جای در آمد  
 خشم آلود و روی بجستن و جوش نهاد . ناگاه در راهش آن خر  
 گوش مفتعل پیش آمد . شیر از سر خشم بوی نگاه کرد ، کی -  
 کجا اند این خرگوشان و دزد و دام بی قول و بی عهد ؟  
 خرگوش گفت کی -

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از ما هیچ بی عهده و بی قولی نیامد .

گفت -

پس چرا چاشت من دیر آوردید ؟

گفت -

من رسولم از وحوش می آمدم ، و خرگوشی فربه و گذیده  
 می آوردم . [دیگر] شیری ستنه و گردن کش پیش آمد ، و  
 بر من ستم کرد و از من بستد . هر چند کی گفتم -  
 مگر کی این چاشت پادشاه این بیشه و بر و بوم  
 است .

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قول من نشنید و خرگوش از من بستد ، و بر من جفا  
 کرد کی -

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تو چه زهره داری کی جز من کسی دیگر را پادشاه  
 خوانی ؟ این جایگاه را بمن سزاوارتر ، و پادشاهی را  
 شایسته تر از آن کی دیگری ، و جفا من آسان بوز .

چون زبان بشاه فراز کرد ، و نا همواری گفتن گرفت ، طاقت

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نداشتم . پیش تو شتافتم و او را بر جای بگذاشتم .  
 شیر را درد گرسنگی و آغالش خرگوش در دل کار کرد . خشم آلود  
 از جای در آمد و گفت کی -

کرا زهره و باری آن باشد ، کی با من بازی کند و در دولت

من دست درازی کند ؟ هین بشتاب و پیش از آن کی

(f.32b) بروز، مرا بر سر او بر .

خرگوش در حال روانه کرد و در پیش ایستاده و شیر را بر سر چاهی

برد پر آب صافی ایستاده، و گفت -

این جایگاه آن شیر است کی خرگوش از من بستد .

شیر بیامد و بر سر جایگاه بایستاد . شیری و خرگوش را در آب

دیند . دانست کی صورت اوست و آن این خرگوش مفتعل .

آهنگ صورت کرد و در چاه افتاد . و خرگوش باز گشت ایمن شده،

و وحوش را ایمن کرده .

کلیله گفت -

ای برادر، اگر دانی کی این شنزبه را، کی خصم تو است، قهر توانی

کردن بی رنجی کی بتو باز گردن و بما و بسایر لشکر این پادشاه ما، و

بی آنک خللی در پادشاهی راه یابد، تو به دانی؛ و اگر دانی کی

توانی دست درین کار میاور . و پرهیز کن کی آنگاه نام غداری بر

ما افتد و هیچ فایده حاصل نشده .

پس دمنه روزگاری پای از پیش شیر باز گرفت، و روزی ناگاه بی زحمت بخلوت

پیش شاه اندر آمد . شیر چون دمنه را بدید گفت -

این روزی چند کی پیش ما نیامدی . ترا مانع چه بوزه است، و چه

باز داشت ترا از خدمت ما ؟ دانم کی خیر بود .

دمنه گفت -

خیر باشد .

شیر گفت -

هیچ خبری تازه گشته هست ؟

دمنه گفت -

آری، کاری تازه گشته است کی نه شاه خواستی کی چنان بوزی، و نه

من خواستمی .

گفت -

آن چیست ؟

گفت -

سخنی شنیدم سخت ناخوش و ناسزا، و می خواهم کی خداوند  
خود را از آن خبر کنم و آگاه گردانم . اما از بزرگان بمن سخنی  
خوب رسیده است، کی گفته اند کی -

هرک سخنی سخت بشنود، باید کی اول عقل آنکس را بر سنجد

و خود را ایمنی حاصل گرداند، آنگاه بگویند کی چون سوز

آن بمُستمع باز گردد، گوینده را از آن سوزی نبوز .

پس خاموشی اولی تر از گفتار باشد؛ و هر چند کی مرا بر عقل و

دانش و کمال پادشاه خود اعتمادی تمام است و من بمیان چند

کار در مانده ام، اولاً شرم می دارم از پادشاه خود، کی چنین سخنی

با وی گویم؛ دیگر کی اندیشه می کنم کی بوز در دل پادشاه آید

کی درین سخن مگر خلاقی بوز . و باز می گویم کی دیر است

کی شاه مرا می داند و سالهاست کی مرا می آزماید، و بدانسته

است کی مرا هوا خواهی (f.33a) و دوست داری شاه برابر

جان باشد و صلاح دولت او از صلاح تن و جان خود دوست تر

دارم، و هرج درین بیشه و نواحی و دشت و کوه دزد و دام است

از هر جنسی و هر نوعی، معیشت ما در معیشت شاه بسته است

و خیر ما بخیر او پیوسته است . و اگر وهنی و ضعفی در پادشاهی

او راه یابد، آن راه بخانها ما یافته بود . و دیرست تا گفته اند

کی -

هرک از خداوندان و برادران چیزی پوشیده دارد، آن خیانت

با خود کرده بوز .

شیر گفت -

آخر گوی، با خود چیست .

گفت کی -

دوستی معتمد و راست گوی، کی مرا بر وی اعتماد تمامست، و

هرگز از وی هیچ خیانتی ندیده ام، گفت کی -

این شنزبه در مجمعی از لشکر و پیوستگان ملك بنشسته

است و گفته کی -

من بخدمت این شیر آمدم و او را بیازمودم، و

قوتِ او در رای و تدبیر معلوم کردم، و همتِ او  
در کارها بشناختم و اندازهٔ زور وی باز دانستم؛ درین  
احوال از وی جز سستی ندیدم. بهمه حال مرا  
با وی دستی بر آموذنی است.

چون من این سخن بشنیدم و مرا خیانت و بذ اندیشی و سر  
اندرونی<sup>۵</sup> او معلوم گشت، خواستم کی بر رای خداوند عرض کنم و  
اورا آگاه گردانم، کی این شنزبه را پایگاه درین دولت بزرگ گشت و  
کار او بالا گرفت، و تبع و یاران بدست آورد و اندیشه‌ها بی اصل و  
سوداها فاسد و هوسها بی حاصل در سر گرفت؛ و همواره می  
گویذ کی -

اگر شیر را پای از جای خون بگردن، پانزده<sup>۱۰</sup> من باشم.  
و ازین جایگاهست کی حکما گفته اند کی -

هر کدام چاکری کی با خداوندگار در خزینه و چاکران و اتباع  
برابر گشت، اگر پانزده چاره<sup>۱۵</sup> کار او نکند بیم آن بوز کی  
چاکر وی را بیفکند؛ و کارها را آن بهتر، کی پیش از آموذن در  
کار در بندی کی اگر بناگاه پیش آید، بوز کی چاره<sup>۱۵</sup> وی حاضر  
نیاید و کار از دست برون.

و در امثال حکما آمده است کی مردم بر سه طبقه اند؛ استواری،  
استوارکاری، و سست رای بهدایت و عقل؛ اما استوار آنست، کی بکاری  
در ماند بخاصیتِ حصافت و پیش بینی و تیز نظری و صافی فکری

خون را از آن کار بیرون آوردن؛ (f.33b) و استوارکار آن بوز، کی  
پیش از آن کی در ماند، تدبیر خویش کند و آفت را تا آمده نداند  
و درش بر بندد، تا چون کار پیش آید اورا دل فارغ و ساکن بوز  
کی کار ناآمده را تدبیر بآهستگی توان کردن و کار آمده را بگردانیدن  
تعجیل باید، و نه هر همتی تدبیر کار بدیهه بجاء تواند آوردن؛  
اما سست رای آن باشد کی نه بمقدمه دفع کار بکند، و نه چون  
در ماند چاره داند.

و این مثل را در حکایات آورده اند، کی وقتی در آب گیری سه ماهی  
بوزه اند و جایگاهی خوش و پر خورش داشته اند، و هیچ کسی راه

گذر بر جای ایشان نبود . قضا را روزی صیّادی بر آن جایگاه بگذشت ؛ چشم وی بر آن ماهیان افتاد ، برفت کی دام آورد و آن ماهیان را بگیرد . از آن ماهیان یکی استوار کار بود ؛ چاره خود پیشی بکرد و بدان جوی کی آب در آن آب گیر می راند بر شد ، و خون را برهانید . و اما آن کی استوار بوز اما پیش بین نبوز گفت کی -

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چون کار پیش آمد ، خون چاره بسازم . و آن سیوم غافل وار می گشت تا صیاد بیامد . آن یکی را خون بتافت کی رفته بود ؛ و آن یکی کی کاردان بوز در حال کی صیاد را بدید دام در دست گرفته ، آهنگ گریز کرد ؛ چون بدان گذرگاه آب آمد کی آن ماهی کاردان تر رفته بود ، صیاد پیش بینی کرده بوز و گذرگاه بگرفته بود ؛ چون از آن چاره باز ماند ، گفت کی -

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اکنون پشیمانی هیچ سوز ندارد . تدبیری دیگر باید ساخت . چاره همان دید کی خون را مرده ساخت ، و بر سر آب می گشت ستان افتاده . صیاد بیامد و دام در افکند و او را بگرفت . چون دید کی مرده است ، هیچ بر وی نزد و او را بر کنار آب بیفکند . چون خود را بر کنار جوی آب دید ، بجست و در آب شد و در همان راه کی آن استوار کار رفته بود برفت و برست . و اما آن ماهی کی کم دانش و غافل بوز و از آن کار خون بر نه اندیشد ؛ و با خود گفت کی -

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( امر ) این صیاد باشد کی خون نیاید ؛ و اگر بیاید ، باشد کی من در دام او نیفتم .

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هم درین غفلت بوز تا ماهی گیر بیامد و دام در افکند و او را بگرفت در همان غفلت . (f.34a)

اکنون ، ای پانشاه ، اگر تو این کار را در نیایی و تدارک نکنی ، هم بوز کی کار تو و رعیت تو چون کار آن ماهی غافل و نادان گردز .

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شیر گفت -

آنچ تو گفتی معلوم من گشت ، و مرا بهیچ گونه گمانی نمی افتد کی شنزبه با من خیانت اندیشد با این همه نیکوی کی من بجا وی کردم ، و هرگز روزی نا بایستی بروی او نه رسانیدم و سخنی تلخ او را



نشنوانیدم .

دمنه گفت کی -

مرا معلوم است کی در باب وی هیچ تقصیری نرفته است ؛ هیچ پایگاهی نماند کی اورا تنهائی و هیچ مرتبی نیست کی اورا ندادی . هر مرادی کی در خواست بجاء آوردی ، و امروز بجاء رسیده است کی بالا منزلت او هیچ منزلتی نیست کی چشم آن منزلت دارد جز منزلت تو کی خداوندی . که کار مردم بی اصل و دون همت آن بوز کی نیک خواهی و یک دلی چندان کند ، کی اورا بر کشی و جاه و گاه دهی ؛ چون در گذرد از مقام خویش و آن بیند کی ندیده بوز ، پندارن کی آن خوز کرده است . بناچار آن پایگاه کی بلند تر باشد ، آن طلب کند و دیگر کی ناکس و نادیده خدمت ملوک از بهر دو چیز کند : تا از بهر حاجتی یا از بهر بیمی . چون مستغنی گردن و بیم بر خیزد ، بناچار اصل بذو سرشت نابکارش تقاضا کند و عادت کهنی و طبع قدیم او بجوش آید ؛ مانند دم سگ کی کژ بوز و چون ببندی راست گردن ، باز چون بگشا بهمان کژی باز روز .

و بدان ، ای ملک ، کی هرک نصیحت دوستان یک دل قبول نکند و بر کار نگیرد ، انجام کار وی نامحمود بوز ، مانند آن بیماری کی آن دارو کی اورا پچشک فرماید بگذار و بانگ دل او خواهد کار کند . و بر هر آن کسی ، کی در پناه پادشاه زندگانی کند و نعمت پادشاه خورد ، واجب است کی پشتی پادشاه خوز فرو نگذارد و آنچ شرط چاکری و نصیحت است بجاء آرز و از هرچ زیان پادشاه بوز دست ندارد ؛ و کار پادشاه را خرد شمارد ، کی بهترین یاران آن بوز ، کی چون کاری اندیش مند پیش آمد ، صلاح کار و نصیحت نگاه دارد ؛ و بهترین کردارها آن بوز کی انجام او شیرین تر بوز ؛ و بهترین زنان آن بوز (f.34b) کی با شوی سازگارتر بوز ؛ و بهترین ثنا و دعا و ستایش آن بوز کی بر زبان نیک مردان گذرد ؛ و بهترین پادشاهان آن بوز کی بطر و غرور بدل وی راه نیابد ؛ و بهترین توانگران آن بوز کی زیر لکز آز کوفته نگردن ؛ و بهترین دوستان آن

بوز کی خصومت را در خاطر جای ندهد؛ و بهترین خویها آن بود  
 کی ( در بهتر کاری ) دارد . و در پندها گفته اند، کی -  
 اگر مردی را آتش بالش بوز و مار بستر بود، بخواب و آرام  
 سزاوارتر بوز از کسی کی او را دشمنی نهان باشد، کی شب  
 و بامداد در اندیشه دشمنی او بوز .

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و بهترین پادشاهان آن بوز کی کارها خوار فرا نگیرند؛ و ای مرد،  
 پیشه نکند کی آنگاه مانند پیل بگشت آمده بوز، کی هوا و شهوت  
 چنان حجاب او گشته بوز کی بهرچ پیش آید، باز نگردند؛ و اگر هزار  
 دشمن ببیند بهیچ نشمرد، و از هیچ کاری غم نخورد؛ چون از آن  
 مستی در آید خوز را ببیند لاغر گشته و گرسنگی در وی اثر کرده، و  
 هر دشمنی کی باشد ویرا زبون گیرند .

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شیر گفت -

ای دمنه، گفتی و سخت گفتی . اما سخن نیک خواهان اگرچه  
 سخت بود خوش باشد، و لکن من می گویم کی این شنزبه اگرچه  
 دشمن من بوز بجاء من هیچ دشمنی نتواند کردن، از بهر آنک\*  
 او گیاه خوارست و من گوشت خوارم و او خورش منست . مرا  
 از وی هیچ بیمی نبود؛ اگر بیم بوز، او را بوز از من . و من هر  
 چند بر می اندیشم، دل من بار نمی برد کی من با وی غدیری کنم  
 تا او را هلاک گردانم، بعد ما کی او را پناه پذیرفته ام، و بخونش پا  
 گرفته ام، و او را امان داده ام، و با وی پیمان نهاده ام، و او را خدمت  
 کاری يك دل دیده ام، و خدمتها او پسندیده ام، و او را بدانش خوز  
 بر گزیده ام، کی آن گاه نام غداری و بد عهدی بر من افتد و دیگر  
 هیچ کس بر من اعتماد نکند بهیچ حال .

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دمنه گفت -

بلی، چنانست کی شاه می گویند . او بین خویش با تو هیچ دشمنی  
 نتواند کردن، اما بوجه سکالشی حیلتي بکند و مراد خود بدست  
 دیگری بر آورد . و گفته اند کی -

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اگر خوز بمثل ترا میهمانی رسد و بیش از يك ساعت پیش  
 تو بخواهد بوز، نگر کی بر وی ایمن نباشی یا از خوی وی

باز بدانی، که آنگاه بیم آن بوز کی از وی یا بسبب وی رنجی

بتو رسد . (f.35a)

هم چنانك آن گزنده را رسيد از آن مهمانی آوردن كيك .

شير گفت -

آن چگونه بوز ؟

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دمنه گفت کی -

آورده اند اندر حكايات کی گزنده<sup>۱۰</sup> وقتی ملازم بود، بستر مردی را

از بزرگان و محتشمان و همواره خوش می خورد و می بوز ؛ ولكن

بآهستگی و بهیچ حال گرمی و شتاب نکردی ؛ تا خداوند خانه بیستر

بختی ، او از جایگاه خود حرکت نکردی ، و بسبب آهستگی سلامت

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زندگانی می کرد و هیچ آفتی بوی نمی رسید . تا شبی کیک

بمهمان وی آمد ، آن گزنده او را گفت -

امشب مهمان من باش بخونی تازه و طریف و بیستری

گرم و نرم .

آن كيك گفت -

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فرمان تراست .

و آن شب آنجایگاه مقام ساخت . چون مرد سوی بستر رفت ، آن

كيك آرام نکرد تا در خوابی افتی ؛ بجست و او را گزیدی سخت

بگزید . مرد بر جست و چراغ خواست و باز جست . كيك بجست

و گزنده در ماند .

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و من این مثل از بهر آن گفتم تا معلوم شود کی آن را کی در

سرشت او بزی باشد ، از وی ایمن نابودن اولی تر ، کی اگر چه بتن

خویش بدشمنی نرسد ، بدست دیگری مراد خود بر آورد . و اگر

تو - کی شاهی - از وی ایمنی کی با تو بتن خویش هیچ نتواند

کرد ، بچه آمنی کی مراد خود بدست کسی دیگر حاصل گرداند ؟

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چندان بگفت ، کی شیر را سخن او در دل کارگر آمد فرا . ( شیر ) گفت -

اکنون چه می گوی کی چه باید کردن ؟

دمنه گفت -

دندان خوره زده را درمان جز بر کندن نیست ، و طعام بر دل ترش

شده را جز انداختن چاره نیست، و دشمنی را کی از وی بیم باشد  
تدبیر بجز بر داشتن نیست .

شیر گفت -

باین سخن کی گفتی، دل من از صحبت شنزبه ملول کردی و خاطر  
من بزد؛ اما چاره همانست کی کسی را پیش وی فرستم تا برخیزد  
و همسایگی ما بگذارد و بجای دیگر نقل کند . آنگاه اگر در خواهد،  
گناه خورش آشکارا کنم .

دمنه [با خون] گفت کی -

اگر شیر این پیغام با وی بدهد، بهمه حال شنزبه بجواب مشغول  
شود و این کار سربر کند و خیانت و دروغ من آشکارا گردد و  
مراد و زیان حاصل شود؛ یکی کی بمراد نرسم و دوم کی از  
نیک نامی باز مانم .

شاه را گفت کی -

ترا درین کار نظر باید کرد، (f.35b) کی رای ملک از همه رایها  
محکم تر است و خاطر او از همه خاطرها صافی تر است . اما  
آنچه مرا می نماید چنانست، کی او را آگاه کردن از حزم و استوارکاری  
دورست، زیرا کی تو در رنج و راحت او و نواختن و انداختن او  
مخیتری، مادام کی او را آگاهی نیست کی تو از احوال او آگاه شدی .  
پس اگر آگاه گردد، چند چیز را زیان دارد؛ اول اگر عزم جنگ دارد  
تدبیر مکاره کند و پیش دستی کند، و اگر عزم برابری کردن دارد  
برگ خویش بسازد، و اگر عزم سررفتن دارد برون تا رانده . و آنگه  
آن عار بما باز گردد، کی کسی نداند کی بگناه خود دور شده است،  
پندارد کی تَفَضُّی در ما پدید کی ما را بگذاشت، با آنک ملوک  
با رای و تدبیر گناه کاری را کی گناه وی آشکارا نبود باد آفرای وی  
آشکارا نکنند و زلت بر وی ظاهر نگردانند . و بزرگان گفته اند کی -  
هر گناهی را باز آفرای دیگرست؛ گناه آشکارا را عقوبت  
آشکارا، و گناه نهانی را عقوبت نهان .

شیر گفت کی -

هر گاه پانزاهی چاکری را سیاست فرماید کردن بگمانی کی بوی برز

بی آنک درستی کار باز داند، آن خواری بوز کی با همت خویش  
کرده بوز و ننکی بوز کی بعهد خویش باز بسته بوز . و این  
معنی از ملوک پسندیده نیاید، کی گمان را اندازه پدید نیاید؛ و  
هرک از پس گمان روز هرگز او را منزل نبود، و بزرگان بر گمان نه،  
بل کی بر یقین گناه عفو دوست داشته اند؛ ما بر گمان و شک چرا  
پسندیده کنیم؟

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دمنه گفت کی -

حق بدست ملك است، اما اکنون يك کار مانده است کی از آن  
چاره نیست . می باید کی هر گاه کی شنبه بنزدیک تو در آید،  
تو از آن کار آگاه باشی و خود را بوی باز نگذاری و عیان گستاخی  
(بدست) کامرانی نسپاری، و نظر و همت را بر کار وی داری، کی در  
حرکات و سکنت او درون دل او بدست آری . و بدانی کی او از  
قاعده بگشته است و علامت آن کار آن بوز، کی او را بینی رنگ  
بگشته، و مفاصل او می لرزد، و بچپ و راست می نگرد، و هر بار  
سرون خود (f.36a) راست می کند، مانند آن کی بر کسی زند .

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شیر گفت -

بهمه حال چون این سخن بگوش من برسید، اگر راست است و  
اگر نه غافل بوزن شرط نیست . و اگر ازین احوال (چیزی)  
مرا آشکارا شوند و ازین نشانها چیزی ببینم، مراد و خیانت او هیچ  
شکی نماند .

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چون دمنه از آغالش شیر بپرداخت و معلوم او گشت کی سخن کارگر آمد  
و تخم کاشته ببر آمد، بآنچ می جست برسید . و شیر را بر آن داشت  
کی چون شنبه در آید شیر از وی با پرهیز باشد . خواست کی بنزدیک  
شنبه روز و او را نیز بر آغالد تا کار تمامتر شود؛ و دانست کی اگر بی  
آگاهی شیر روز و خبر بشیر رسد، بوز کی تهمتی در دل وی راه یابد .  
بیامد بنزدیک شیر و گفت -

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اگر ملك مرا دستوری دهد یکی، بنزدیک این شنبه روم و از دل  
وی بر رسم و سخن وی بشنوم . باشد کی بظاهر گفتار وی بعضی  
از اسرار وی مرا پیدا گردن، کی نه همانا کی او خود را از من

چنان نگاه تواند داشتن کی من بر درون او واقف نگردم .  
 شیر دستوری داند و دمنه برفت تا نزدیک شنبزه رسید . در رفت بر مثال  
 کسی کی غمی بزرگ در وی کار کرده بود و اندوهی بی حد بوی راه یافته  
 بود . چون شنبزه او را بدید، خوش باز پرسید و گفت کی -  
 ترا چه پیش آمد، کی روزگاری هست کی از دیدار دوستان باز ماندی؟  
 و اکنون کی آمدی، بر تو نشان غم کنان می بینم . مرا از حال  
 دل خویش آگاه گردان کی ان شا الله جز سلامت نبود .  
 دمنه گفت -

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ای عجب، چگونه سلامت یابد کسی کی زمام تصرف او بدست دیگران  
 بود، و بچنین روزگاری بند گرفتار آمده باشد، و در صحبت و خدمت  
 کسی باشد کی بر عهد وی اعتماد نبود، و بر قول و گفتاری کی  
 گویند استواری یار نبود، و اعتمادی کی بر وی کنی پای دار نبود؟  
 شنبزه گفت کی -

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در سخن تو چنان می نماید کی کاری تازه گشته است . مرا باز  
 نمای تا خود چه شنیده<sup>۱</sup> و چه دیده ای؟

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دمنه گفت کی -

آنچ در پرده غیب نهان بود آشکارا گشت؛ (f.36b) و کیست آنک  
 با قضا بر آویخت کی نیفتاد؛ و کیست آنک با قدر کستی گرفت کی  
 پهلوی<sup>۲</sup> وی بزمین نیامد؟ و کیست آنک درین زمانه غدارش کاری  
 پیش آمد کی جز تسلیم چاره<sup>۳</sup> دانست؛ و کیست آنک دست بآهو  
 و بایست یکی کرد، کی نه در دام غرور افتاد؟ و کیست آنک با  
 زبان محاورت کرد، کنه در فتنه بعاند؛ و کیست آنک حاجت بناکسان  
 بر داشت، کنه ذلیل و خوار شد؟ و کیست آنک پیوند کرد با زنان  
 کی سلامت یافت؛ و کیست آنک با ملوک صحبت کرد کی نیکبها<sup>۴</sup>  
 ایشان او را پاینده و جاوید بعاند . و چه نیک گفته اند، کی -

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صحبت ملوک مانند آتشیست؛ هرک بذو نزدیک تر، از سوختن  
 پر بیم تر .

شنبزه گفت -

ای دمنه، از تو سخنی می شنوم کی مساق آن سخن بدان می کشد

کی ترا از شیر چیزی روی نموده است کی بید عهدی تعلق دارد .  
آخر شرح باز ده تا خود چه بونده است ؟  
دمنه گفت -

آری، دیدم کاری کی دل مرا بشک آورده است و خاطر مرا خراشیده  
گردانیده است . اما نه در باب من، کی اگر در باب من بونی  
آسان تر بونی، چون در حق مهتری سخنی شنوم بناچار دل من  
خسته گردد، خاصه کی مهتری بون کی با من دوستی و یگانگی دارد  
و پر منش حقها و حرمتها باشد . و تو دانی کی من از آن  
گاه باز کی مرا شیر نزدیک تو برادر فرستاد و با تو عهد و پیمان  
فرمود کردن -

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هرگز روزی از یگانه دلی و نیک پیوندی باز نه ایستادم .  
و بهر حال بر من واجب است جانب تو نگاه داشتن و ترا آگاه  
کردن از هرچ بگوش من رسیده است .  
شنزبه گفت -

آن چیست ؟ آشکارا بکن تا مرا معلوم گردد .  
دمنه گفت -

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یکی از جمله دوستانی کی مرا نزدیک باشد و من او را براستگویی  
بشناخته ام مرا خبر داد، کی شیر با برخی از کسان خویش گفته  
است کی -

در فربهی این شنزبه بشگفت مانده ام و مرا بهیچ کاری  
نمی آید، و الحق جز آنرا نشاید کی او را بشکرم ؛ و برخی از  
وی بخورم و برخی یاران خود را سپر گردانم . (f.37a)  
چون این حال بمن برسید، بر عقل و رازداری تو اعتماد کردم و  
آمدم و ترا آگاه کردم تا خصافت کار خویش بکنی .

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چون شنزبه این سخن از دمنه بشنید، با خون اندیشه کرد کی -  
این دمنه راست می گوید، کی شیر این بذ عهدی هست ؛ و اینک  
دمنه شرح می دهد باحوال او می ماند و از آن کار بهراسید .  
پس روی بدمنه کرد و گفت -

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نپندارم کی شیر با من این غدر بیندیشد و این حیلت بسکالذ، کی

زیرا کی مرا در باب او هیچ گناهی نیست و هیچ کسی را از لشکر  
وی نیازدم . اما جز آن نیست کی کسی را از لشکر بر من حسد  
آمده است و صورت مرا پیش وی زشت گردانیده است ؛ و نیز کی  
گروہی از بدان گرد این شیر در آمده اند . و بدان چون بمہتری  
نزدیک گردند جز آن نکنند کی نیکانرا بسبزی یاز کنند و ایشانرا  
ضدیت بر آن دارند ؛ و باشد کی اورا تجربت هیچ بری باز ندهد و  
خطای را ( پیش ) او بصورت صوابی بیار آید .

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چنانک در حکایات آمده است کی وقتی بطی بر کنار آبی جایگاه  
داشت و در آن آب ماهیان بسیار بوزند . روزی تا شبانگاہ بر کنار  
آن آب نشسته بود و در آن آب نگاہ می کرد . قضارا ستارہ بر  
آمد و نوری بر آب افتاد . پنداشت کی آن چیزی نیکو بوز ؛ قصد  
کرد کی بگیرد . چون بآب فرو رفت هیچ بدست نیامد اورا ، کی  
از خیال هیچ نیاید . چون باری چند بکوشید و هیچ نیافت ، صورت  
بست کی درین آب بجز خیالات هیچ نیست . روزی دیگر درین آب  
ماہی دید ؛ هیچ آہنگ وی نکرد و نگرفت .

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پس بسیار بوز کی باطل حق نماید ، و حق باطل نماید . اگر شیرا  
از من دروغی رسانیده اند و اورا آن راست نموده اند بتجربتی  
کی در باب دیگری کرده بوز ، آنرا چارہ نیست . و اگر کسی چیزی  
نگفته است و او بی سببی و علتی بر من متغیر رای گشته است ،  
این خوز شگفتی تمام است ، کی گفته اند -

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هیچ شگفتی بدان نرسد کی مردی براستی خشنودی کسی  
جوید و آنکس خشنود ( f.37b ) نگرد . و ازین شگفت تر  
آنست کی خشنودی طلبی و خشم بر آورد کی گناہی کی پدید  
بوز ، اگر خشمی از وی پدید آید کی علتش پدید بوز ، اومید  
بوز کی اورا پوزشی باشد ؛ اما چون بی علتی باشد اومید  
بریزد گرد ، کی ہرچ بآمذن علتی پیدا شود بسباز گستن  
آن علت دور شود ، کی علت را آمذنی باشد و بر خاستنی  
بوز ، گاہ آید و گاہ بر خیزد ؛ اما باطلرا قدمی هست کی  
اورا بر داشتن دشوار بوز .

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و هر چند کی من با خود اندیشه می کنم و فکر بر می گمارم،  
خود را هیچ گناهی نمی دانم کی از آن باز گویم، الا کی وقتی بر  
دست و پا و زبان من کاری گذشته باشد کی من آنرا گناه  
شمردن باشم. و اگر کسی گوید کی من در خدمت ملوک  
خود ( را ) چنان نگاه توانم داشتن کی بر من هیچ زلتی و محالی  
نبرد خطا گفته باشد. اما واجبست بر ملوک کچون خود را بویا  
و بزرگ همتی موصوف دانند، در گناه و زلت چاکران و بندگان  
نظر کنند، و اندازه آن کارها باز بینند و تجربت کنند و فکر بر  
گمارند، کی این گناه تعمّد بوزنه است یا خطا افتاده است.  
و اگر من این گناه را در گذرانم، ملک را هیچ زیادتى و خللى آرد  
یا نه، و در گذاشتن بهتر یا عقوبت کردن. اگر بهیچ وجه عذرى  
نیاید، آنگاه از عقوبت چاره نبود.  
اکنون اگر شیر را بر من گناهی در دل است، بجز آن نمی دانم کی  
گاه گاه بوی بوقت رای و تدبیر اشارتی دیگر گونه کردمى. در باب  
نصیحت و هوا خواهی، اکنون ممکن بود کی او را در دل آید کی  
گویند -

شنزبه را چه یاری آن باشد کی در کاری کی من آری گویم  
او خلاف کند.

و این معنی را من گناهی نمی بینم، نه بزرگ و نه کوچک، کی من  
این خلاف کی کردم جز از بهر مصلحت دولت او نکردم و جز رضا  
او نجستم. و آنچه گفتم هرگز بر ملاء خلق و لشکر نگفتم، کی گویم  
او را خجلتی افزوده باشد؛ بل کی خلوت خواستمى و بخلوت آنج  
مصلحت کار بونی باز گفتمى، و هرگز بلفظی نگفتم کی از حرمت دور  
بود؛ بل کی با وقار (f.38a) و خشوع گفتمى، و هرگز هیبت ملک  
از پیش بر نداشتم و اعزاز و اجلال او پیوسته آینه ریزه دیدم.  
و دانستم کی هرک بوقت بیماری از پشك بجاء دارو رخصت جویند،  
در بیماری بیفزاید؛ و هرک از یاران بجاء رای مدهانت جویند، در  
آفت افتد؛ و هرک از علما بوقت شبهی کی پیش آید آسانی خواهد  
نه حجت در دین خود، بشك گرفتار گردن.

پس اگر نیست، آنست کی گفته اند پانشاه را مستی باشد بجز مستی شراب، کچون آن مستی بدیدار آید بر بی گناهان خشم گیرد و بر گناه کاران بخشایش آورد بی سببی و علتی . و ازین جایگاه گفته اند کی -

مخاطره<sup>۱</sup> بزرگ کرده بوز هرک در دریا مسافری کند؛ و ازین مخاطره تر آن کرده بوز کی با پانشاه صحبت کند .

کی اگرچه با پانشاه زندگانی بدوستی و وفا و نصیحت کنی و جانب او را بر جانب خود زیادت آری، از بیم افتادن خالی نباشی . پس اگر این نیست مگر آنست، کی گفته اند کی -

بسی دانش و افزونی باشد کی سبب هلاک بود .

چنانک درخت میوه وقت بود کی چندان میوه بر آرد کی شاخ او گران گردد و فرو کشد و بشکند؛ چون بنگری هلاک او بار و میوه او بود . و چنانک طائوس کی هر چند کی پر و بال و دم او سبب جمال اوست، وقت بوز کی سبب هلاک وی گردد بوقتی کی خواهد کی خوز را از خصمی برهاند و یا خواهد کی در خصمی رسد .

و چنانک اسب دونده چون فربه و با زور بوز، آنگاه بر اعتماد زور و گوشت او را بدوانید و بسی بوز کی در آن هلاک شود . چنانک مرد با مروت کی بدست بدان در ماند، بناچار خسته و گشته بوز از بهر آنک غلبه بدان بیش از غلبه نیکان است و ضدیت خوز حاصل است .

پس اگر این همه نیست، بجز قضا و قدر مدان، کی او را باز گردانیدن ممکن نیست و دست همه از وی کوتاهست کی قضاست کی شیر را زور و قوت بستاند تا در بند و سلسله افتد . و قضاست کی مرد ضعیف را بر پشت پیل قوی نشاند . و قضاست کی مار را گرفتار، (f.38b) مار افشای گرداند تا دندان زهر آلودش را بکند و با وی چنانک خواهد بازی آغازند . و قضاست کی بر دست

کم خرد کارها بزرگ تمام کند و بر دست پر خردان کارها پست گذراند؛ و بر خداوند رای صافی و هوش با کمال روزی تنگ کند و بر بی عقلان روزی فراخ گرداند . و مبارزت بذ دلان و افتادن پر دلان

هم از سر ( تیشرات ) قضاست و آنرا هیچ چاره نبود .

دمنه گفت -

اگر چنانك این معنی راست است ، بر این معنی هیچ حمل مکن  
کی یاز کردی جز بر يك وجه ، و آن غدر و محتالیست ، کی این شیر  
غدار و محتالست و او را جز غدر هیچ کاری نیست . صحبت او مانند  
آن کس است کی اول او بخوردن خوش باشد اما آخر او بزهر  
آلوده بوز .

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شنزبه گفت -

من درین مدت کی گذشت هرج شیرینی بوز خوردم و لذت خود  
بر داشتم . و اکنون وقت است کی زهر تائیر خود بنمایذ و طبع  
خود ظاهر کند . جز تسلیم هیچ چاره نبود ، و اگر نه آن بوزی کی  
مرا این کار در پیش بود ، مرا با صحبت شیر چه کار و او گوشت  
خوار و من گیا خوار ؟ و مبادا اومید دراز کی این دو معنی  
مرا باین جایگاه باز داشتند . و مثال من همچنان آمد کی  
مثال مگس انگین کی بر برگ نیلوفر نشیند و بسوی وی غره گردن و  
غافل شود از هلاک خویش ؛ چندان مقام کند کی شب در آید و  
برگ نیلوفر در هم آید ، بزیر آب شود و وی هلاک گردن .

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و هرك با آنچه او را باشد قناعت نکند و بالا آن جوید ، مثال او  
چون مگسی بوز کی بگل و ریاحین و برگ درختان رضا ندهد و  
آهنگ آن آبی کند کی از گوش پیل آید ، و برود و بخوردن ایستد ؛ و  
زود بزود می باشد تا آنگاه کی پیل گوش بجنباند و او را بکشد ، کی  
پیل را کشتن او آسان بوز ، خاصه کی بکشتن آمده باشد ، کی کرا  
آتش نکند کی بخون وی باز نکر .

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و هرك پند کسی را دهد کی از وی منت ندارد ، هم چنان کسی  
باشد کی تخم در زمینی افکند کی شوره دارد ؛ ( f.39a ) تخم  
بزیان آوز و هیچ حاصل نگردن ؛ و چه آنک با کسی سخن گوید کی  
برای خود فرو آمده باشد و چه آنک با کرا آن سخن گوید بزار .

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دمنه گفت کی -

این سخن کی تو می گوی همه فایده است ؛ اما بدین مشغول

مشو، تدبیر کار خویش بکن .

شنزبه گفت -

اگر چنانک شیر این عزم درست کرده است، چه حیلت دانم کرد و چه چاره شاید ساخت ؟ و بدانک اگر شیر بمن جز خیر و خوبی نخواهد و دلش با من جز بنیکی نگراید، چون بد گویان و بد سکلان دست بمکر و حیلت بردند و او را بر کشتن و هلاک من دارند، بدست ایشان آسان بر آید، کی گفتار ستم با طبع شیر برابر آید کی نهان و طبع او ستم است . و من ایمن نیستم کی مرا از بد گویان بر دست این شیر همان پیش آید کی آن اشتر را پیش آمد در صحبت آن شیر دگر، هم از بد گویان و آن شغال و زاغ و گرگ بود .

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دمنه گفت -

آن چگونه بوزه است ؟

شنزبه گفت کی -

در حکایات آموزه است کی شیری بوزه است در بیشه خوش و خرم بر سر راه کاروان، و سه یار داشت : گرگی و شغالی و زاغی . روزی گروهی اشتر بانان آن جایگاه بگذشتند و از ایشان اشتری باز ماند و در آن بیشه رفت . اوّل کی در آمد پیش شیر رسید، شیر او را گفت کی -

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درین بیشه بچه کار آموزه ای و ترا این جایگاه چه آورده است ؟

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اشتر قصّه خود با وی بگفت . شیر گفت -

اکنون سر چه داری ؟

گفت -

فرمان شاه را ایستده ام تا چه فرماید .

گفت -

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اکنون کی در حمایت ما آمدی و بها التجا کردی، در صحبت

ما زندگانی می کن و در امان ما می باش، کی آنچه ما را

هست از تو دریغ نیست .

اشتر چون این سخن بشنید شادمانه گشت و دل بر خدمت بنهاد

و در پناه شیر زندگانی می کرد؛ تا روزی چنان افتاد که شیر بطلب  
شکاری بیرون رفت. پیلی او را پیش آمد مست گشته و با زوری و  
قوت گشته و از عالم بی باک شده. شیر آهنگ روی کرد و با هم  
بر آویختند و میان ایشان جنگی سخت و صعب برفت؛ و شیر از  
دست آن پیل برفت (f.39b) خسته و کوفته و خون آلود. و بر  
جای بماند ضعیف و بی زور، نه طاقت آنک نخچیر کند و روی آن کی  
بر جاء قرار کند.

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گرگ و کلاغ و شغال گرسنه مانده، کی ایشان زندگانی بدان کردند کی  
چیزی از شیر بسر آمیزی کی بخوردندی؛ تا جمله لاغر گشتند  
و گرسنگی بر ایشان مستولی گشت. و شیر آن ضعف و رنجوری در  
ایشان بدید؛ روی بدیشان کرد و گفت -

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مرا رنج خون چندان نیست کی رنج و بی برگی شما.  
جواب دادند کی -

مارا از رنج کم نیست، اما چون برنج شاه خون می نگریم  
مارا رنج خون فراموش می گرد. و مارا روز و شب هیچ  
اندیشه نیست جز آنک می گویم کی، کاشکی چاره دانستیمی  
تا مارا داروی بچنگ آمیزی کی ترا در آن راحت و شفا  
بونی.

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شیر گفت کی -

مرا در یک دلی شما هیچ شکی نیست و نصیحت شمارا  
معلوم است. اکنون اگر دانید کی قوت آن دارید کی  
هر جاء بگردید و بنگرید و تجسس بکنید، مگر باین نزدیکی  
نخچیری بدست آید و مرا خبر دهید تا من او را بگیرم و  
از هم بر (دارم). با هم مرا قوتی باشد و هم شمارا  
طعامی باشد کی بوی زندگانی کنید.

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چون گرگ و کلاغ و شغال این سخن از شیر بشنیدند بر خاستند و  
برفتند و بهم انجمن کردند و گفتند کی -

مارا باین گیاه خواره چه آشناء است، و چرا باید کی او در  
پناه ما بوز؟ و چندین گاه او گرامی شیر بوزد است و

همه را بکار بکناره افکنده است، و رازداری ملک بر دست گرفته است. کار او دیگرست و کار ما دیگر است. بیا تا ما دست بهم دهیم و شیر را بر آن داریم کی او را بخورد و ما را نیز بخوراند.

شغال گفت -

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این خوز بهیچ حال ممکن نگرد. این سخن پیش شیر کی یارن گفتن او را روزگاریست کی شیر را بدست کرده است و شیر او را امان داده است. و ما هرگز ندیدیم کی این شیر با کسی غدر کرده است؛ با وی هم نکند. تدبیری دیگر بدست باید کردن.

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کلاغ گفت کی -

اگر این کار بر همه دشوارست، بدست من آسانست. شما با من همدستان باشید کی من (f.40a) تنها پیش شیر روم و این شغل را تمام کنم.

ایشان گفتند -

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روا بوز.

بر خاست و پیش شیر رفت. چون پیش وی رسید شیر او را گفت - بچه کار آمده ای؟ هیچ جای از نخچیر نشانی یافتی؟ زاغ گفت کی -

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جستن آنگاه ممکن بوزی کی ما قوت رفتن داشتیمی و ردین نخچیر آنگاه توان کی در دیزه نوری مانده باشد. ما را از گرسنگی طاقت رفتار نیست. چگونه کردیم و قوت ردینار نیست؟ چگونه بینیم؟ اما ما هر سه بر چیزی اتفاق کردیم کی اگر شاه بدان همدستان گردن، بقوت باز آید و ما نیز طعامی یابیم و قوت پذیریم.

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شیر گفت -

آن چیست؟

گفت -

این اشتر گیاه خوار کی میان ما می گردن بی آنک ما را بوی

هیچ سود زیانی تعلق دارد؛ بچه کار آید ؟  
شیر خشم آلود گشت و زبان بسفاهت بر گشاد و زاغ را جفا کرد و  
گفت -

5 ای عجب، تو این دلیری از کجا یافتی کی پیش من این سخن  
گفتی ؟ اف ازین گفتار ناسزاوار تو، و تفّ بر این کردار  
نابکار . تو چه پر خطا زبانی داری و چه بی وفا دلی داری .  
من خود را سزاوار آن ندانم، کی این چنین سخن کسی در  
روی من بگوید تا جوینده‌ای از من این بی وفاء جویند .  
آخر نمی دانی کی من او را امان داده‌ام و ایمن  
گردانیده‌ام ؟ با که غدر کردم تا با وی هم کنم، و با که بی  
وفاء نمودم کی با وی بمانم ؟ تو شنیده‌ای کی هیچ کسی  
صدقه ندان ؟ و اگر چه هم سنگ کوهها، جهان بوز، بزرگتر  
از آنج ترسنده‌ای را امان دهد و هراسنده‌ای را بی بیم گرداند ؟  
و من این اشترا را امان داده‌ام؛ بهیچ حال بر وی زنهار  
نخورم .

15 زاغ را این صفا و خشم شیر از کار نبرد؛ از دری دیگر در آمد .  
گفت -

20 آنج شیر گفت چنانست و ضدّ چندانست، و ملك از آن بزرگتر  
است کی از وی زنهار خوار کی آید؛ امّا گفته اند کی -  
اگر يك تن فداء خانه، روز، شاید؛ و اگر خانه، فداء  
جلّه ای روز، شاید؛ و اگر جلّه، فداء قبیله، روز، شاید؛  
و اگر قبیله، فداء شهری روز، شاید، و اگر صد شهر فداء  
پادشاهی روز، شاید .

25 و امروز ترا چنین حالی پیش آمد و ما بچنین رنجی در  
مانده ایم . (س. 40b) بهمه حال حیلتی باید ساخت، کی  
هم مراد بر آید و هم نره، زنهار در گردن نماید .  
شیر خاموش گشت . زاغ را معلوم شد کی آن خاموشی عین  
اقرارست . از آنجا بیرون آمد و بنزدیک یاران شد و احوال گذشته  
شرح داد و گفت کی -

این کار را باین جایگاه رسانیدم . شما چه گوید کی تدبیر  
تمام کردن چگونه است ؟  
گرگ و شغال گفتند -

ما این را هیچ تدبیری نداریم بجز آنک این کار را بتیز بینی و  
لطیف نظری تو باز گذاریم ، تا همچنانک باین جایگاه رسانیدی ،  
تمام گردانی و ما را بمراد برسانی .  
زاغ گفت -

آنچ من می بینم آنست ، کی جمله نزدیک اشتر شویم و از  
احوال خویش و احوال شیر با وی فصلی برانیم تا خون چه  
گوید .

گفتند -

سخت نیک است .

بر خاستند و جمله آنجا رفتند و پیش وی بنشستند و گفتند کی -  
ترا معلومست کی مدتی دراز بر آمد کی ما در پناه شیر  
می باشیم و بنعمت وی زندگانی می کنیم . و امروز کی  
اورا این چنین کاری پیش آمد ، اگر از ما در کار خون غم  
خوارگی نبیند و دل گرمی نیابد ، همانا کچون بهتر شوند و  
ازین کار ما بر اندیشند و تقصیر ما یاز آورند ، ما را نیک نیاید .  
بیایید تا برویم و هر یکی از ما خون را بر او عرضه کنیم و  
گوییم کی -

ما خون را فدا ، تو گردیم .

و هر یکی از ما کی پیش بروند از دیگران بَعْدِری و سخنی  
خویش آزار دل آویزیم ، تا هم دل دوستی نموده باشیم و  
هم خون را برهانیده باشیم ، و هم از ملامت فردا ایمن  
گردیم .

برین اتفاق کردند و پیش شیر رفتند . زاغ پیش رفت و گفت -  
ای ملك ، رنخور شده ای و بهممه وجه ترا چیزی باید کی ترا  
قوت باشد و رنج ترا براحات بدل گردانند . و ما این  
مدتها مدید بتوریده بوزیم و بَعْنَابَتِ تو بر آسوزیم .



و آن به کی تو مرا بخوری تا زور یابی و بحالِ اوّل باز  
گردی، تا یاران من در پناه تو زندگانی کنند چون تو بر حال  
باشی، چون منی اگر بوز و اگر نه یکی بوز .  
گرگ و شغال گفتند کی -

خاموش باش ! در فدا کردن تو خود چه زیادت و چه  
نقصان است ؟ و در تو شاه را سیری نبود .

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[شغال گفت -]

اما من کی شغالم، اگر خداوند مرا قبول کند و بخورد  
سیر گردد (f.41a) و قوتی یابد .

گرگ و زاغ گفتند کی -

ترا چه کند کی گوشت تو بوی ناخوش دارد و هیچ جانوری را  
شکم از آن تو ناهموارتر و ناسزاوارتر نیست .

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[گرگ گفت -]

اما مرا کی گرگم، ازین هیچ عیبی و بهانه‌ای نیست . باری  
من سزاوارترم بطعامِ ملك .

زاغ و شغال گفتند کی -

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هرک خواهد کی خوز را بدست خوز بکشد، بر وی باز کی  
گوشتِ گرگ خورد، کی از هیچ چیز چنان بیم خوانیق نباشد  
کی از گوشتِ گرگ . و بهیچ حال من پادشاه خود را این  
رخصت ندهم، کی گوشت تو خورد .

اشتر با خوز اندیشه کرد کی -

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بهمه حال مرا نیز پیش باید رفتن، کی اگر نه روم کینه در  
دل شیر افتد و نرهم از وی . و بهمه حالی چون من  
پیش روم این یاران من چنانک از بهر يك دیگر عذری بگفتند  
مرا نیز عذری بخواهند و کار مرا وجهی بنهند، کی در وی  
رستگاری باشد .

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این بیندیشید و در پیش رفت و گفت -

ملك را ازین جمله هیچ دارو نباشد بجز من و بهیچ کسی  
سیر نشود جز بمن ؛ و در گوشتِ من هیچ مضری نیست و

شکم من پاکیزه است .

چون این بگفت گرگ و شغال و زاغ گفتند کی -

راست گفتی .

و در جستند و اشترا پاره کردند .

چون شنزبه این حکایت برداخت ، روی سوی دمنه کرد و گفت -

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این مثل از بهر آن یاز کردم تا ترا معلوم گردن کی اگر چه رای

شیر با من نیک بود ، چون بد گفتن پیوستگان و گرد برگردان از حد

و اندازه بگذرد ، مرا رستگاری نبود ، کی در امثال آمده است کی -

پادشاه باید کی چون عقابی با سذ ، گرد برگرد وی مردار

بسیار اوفتاده ، نه چون مرداری کی گرد برگرد وی عقابان

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ایستاده بوند .

و شیر را اگر خود در دل بجز خیر و خوبی نیست ، کی رای زبان بد

اورا از سر کار بیردند و نرمی اورا درشت کرده اند ، و خوشنودی

اورا خشم گردانیده اند ، کی بر هیچ عاملی پوشیده نماند ، کی سنگ از

دل بسی سخت تر بود ، و آب از سخن نرمتر بود ، و آب بر سنگ سخت

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چون مداومت نماید بی رحنه نگذارد . سخن بر دل اولیتر کی

تاثیر کند ، و حال رضا بحال غضب آرد .

دمنه گفت -

اکنون در دل چه داری (f.41b) چه خواهی کردن و چگونه

می سکالی ؟

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شنزبه گفت -

تدبیر همان می بینم کی دشمنی آشکارا کنم و جنگ را آماده باشم

و ساز و عدت خویش را جمله ساخته دارم ، کی حکما گفته اند کی -

هیچ نمازی و اگر چه با اخلاص باشد ، و هیچ صدقاتی و اگر

چه بی ریا و سمعت باشد ، و هیچ پرهیزکاری و اگر چه ویژه

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از بهر خدای بود ، بدان نرسد کی کسی بر سر حق پیکار کند ،

کی اگر اورا بکشد بقاء جاودان یافته بود ، و اگر نکشد شادکامی

و ظفر یافته بود .

دمنه گفت کی -

مرد عاقل چرا باید کی خوز را در خطر افکند چون تواند کردن کی  
بی مخاطره کار خوز بر آورد، زیرا کی مخاطره زن اگر بزیان آید  
خون خود ریخته بوز و در بزه افتاده بود، و اگر نصرت یابد، آنرا  
هر کسی بقضا و قدر حواله کند. اما مرد خردمند و کامل  
آن بوز، کی جنگ را آخر کار سازد و در اول رفیق و آهستگی پیش  
گیرد و مجامعت را کار بندد. و من این را کی تو می گوی در  
رای و تدبیری کی باشد، هیچ وجهی نمی بینم، کی جنگ کردن با  
دشمنان آنگاه باید کی هیچ چاره نماند، کی بچاره و حیل دشمن  
را قهر کردن اولی تر از شمشیر و چنگ، کی وزر و عقوبت حیل  
کمتر از آن شمشیر است. و گفته اند کی -  
دشمن اگر چه حقیر بوز مدار کی در وی حیلتی و چاره  
بوز.

خاصه شیر را با دلیری و زور و بطش و خون خواری او، کی هرک  
دشمنانرا حقیر دارد، او را همان پیش آید کی وکیل دریا را از آن  
دو مرغ پیش آمد، کی نامشان طیطوی بوزه است.  
شنزبه گفت -

این چگونه بوزه است؟

دمنه گفت کی -

آورده اند در حکایات کی دو مرغ بوزه اند بر کنار دریا، کی نامشان  
طیطوی بوزه است، نری و ماده ای و هر دو زندگانی می کردند بر  
وجه سازکاری. چون روزگار بر گذشت و وقت خایه کردن آمد ماده  
گفت با نر -

خوش کی مرا وقت خایه کردن آمده است. مرا جایگاهی  
حصین و حریر بدست آور تا خایه نهم و بچه بر آورم با دلی  
ایمن و ساکن.

نر گفت کی -

هم بر جای خود خایه بنه، کی آب نزدیک است و گل و  
شکوفه بسیارست (f.42a) و مارا زندگانی خوارتر است.  
ماده گفت کی -

ای خردمند ! درین کار نیکو نگاه کن، کی بچه و خایه،  
خویش را در مهلکه افکندن شرط نبود . اگر این دریا بیفزاید  
و خایه و بچه، ما در کشد، آن ما کرده باشیم بدست خود  
با خود .

نر گفت کی -

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من بدریا این جهالت گمان نبرم، کی بر ما این تعدی روا  
دارد با آن کی وکیل دریا بر وی مسلط است .

مازه گفت -

ای عجب ! این چه غرور است کی ترا در سر رفته است،  
کی شرم نمی داری و خود را نمی شناسی و کسی را تهدید  
و زلیفن می دهی، کی تو و چون تو هزار با وی پای ندارد  
و تو آدمی را تهدید می دهی کی وکیل دریاست ؟ و  
گفته اند کی -

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هیچ چیزی خود را و جز خود را چون آدمی شناسد .

و سخن من بشنو و بر خیز تا ازین جایگاه برویم و جای  
دیگر بگزینیم کی در وی ایمن زندگانی شاید کردن .

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بسیار بگفت و نر بهیچ حال فرمان نکرد . چون از حد بگذشت و  
نشنید و بانگ بر مازه زد، مازه گفت -

ای نر، مکن، کی هرک نصیحت دوستان نپذیرد و پند نیک  
خواهان بگوش نگیرد، همانش پیش آید کی آن سنگپشت را پیش  
آمد کی پند دوستان قبول نکرد .

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نر گفت -

چگونه بوزه است ؟

مازه گفت -

آورده اند در حکایات کی چشمه بوزه است در روزگار و دو  
بُطّ و سنگ پستی در وی مقام ساخته بوده اند، و بحق  
همسایگی بیگانه دلی زندگانی می کردند . روزگاری بر آمد،  
چشمه کمتر گشت و آن دو مرغ آبی بر خود بترسیدند و  
با یک دیگر سکالیدند کی -

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ما را بهمه حال جای دیگر بدست باید آوردن کی  
در وی آب و چره باشد و آنجایگاه نقل باید کردن .  
برفتند و بگشتند و جای خوش بدست آوردند . و عزم رفتن  
درست کردند و سنگ پشت را پدروز می کردند کی -  
بسلامت باش، کی ما بخواهیم رفتن .

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سنگپشت گفت -

شما چرا می روید ؟

گفتند -

از بهر آنک این جایگاه آب کمتر گشت و ما جای  
خوشر ازین بدست آوردیم .

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سنگپشت گفت کی -

شما را کمی آب زیان ندارد، کی مرا کی بی آب  
بسیار زندگانی نتوانم کردن و شما بآب اندک زندگانی  
هم . و نیز پر دارید کی بپرید و آب بخورید  
(f.42b) و باز آئید و مرا این نیست . مردمی  
کنید و مرا تدبیری بسازید و مرا با خون ببرید .  
این دو بطّ گفتند کی -

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ما ترا با خون ببریم اگر با ما شرط کنی، کی ما چون  
ترا بر داریم و ببریم تا جاء خون نرسی، هیچ سخن  
نگوای .

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گفت کی -

شما را فرمان بر دارم ، اما مرا چگونه خواهید بردن ؟

گفتند کی -

چویی بپاریم و تو میان جاء وی بدندان بگیری و سری  
من بگیرم و سری یار من . و ترا ببریم در هوا .

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بر این اتفاق کردند و او را بر داشتند و بسپریزند و در  
هوا می رفتند . و مردمان از دور می نگریدند ، آن احوال  
می دیدند . شگفت داشتند و بیک بار آواز بر آوردند کی -  
این عجایب نگرید . سنگپشتی میان دو بطّ می روز .

چون گفتار بسیار گشت سنگپشت را خشم بسیار گشت، و آواز بر آورد، و گفت -

کوری، آنرا کی نتواند دیدن .

چون دهان باز کرد، چوب از دهانش برست و بیفتاد و پاره پاره گشت .

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نر مازه را گفت کی -

این مثل بشنیدم و مرا از دریا و وکیل دریا هیچ اندیشه نیست . تو هم بر جای خویش خایه بنه و مترس .

مازه جز فرمان بردن چاره ندید . بر جای خویش خایه بنهاد و بچه بیرون آورد . وکیل دریا چون این بدید گفت -

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بر من واجب گشت کی بنگرم کی مرغ حقیر با من چه تواند کردن .

آب دریا را از آن سو کشید و بچه او را بر داشت . چون مازه آن حال بدید و از بچه جدا ماند، روی بستر کرد، کی -

من این کار را کی بیفتاد پیشی می دیدم و دانستم کی رنج خویشتن با شناختن تو بما باز گردد و گفتم . نشنیدی . اکنون بنگر کی ما را چه پیش آمد .

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نر گفت کی -

من نیز باوّل گفتم کی -

اگر این وکیل دریا بر ما تعدی و زیادتى کند، من دانه خویش از وی روز بستانم .

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و اکنون بنگری کی من با وی چگونه کنم و مکافات وی چگونه بجای آرم .

این بگفت و بنزدیک یاران خویش رفت و از احوال خویش با ایشان بنالید، و گفت کی -

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هم جنسی و هم صحبتی از بهر غم و شادی بود، و اینک مرا چنین حالی پیش آمد . هر آینه شمارا با من دست یکی باید داشت تا دانه خویش ازو بستانم .

چون مرغان آن احوال او بشنیدند و از محنت او آگاه شدند،

(f.43a)

و اورا گفتند، کی -

مارا این دردِ تو سخت می آید، اما تو دانی کی -  
کهران بی مهتران هیچ کاری نتوانند کردن، و لشکر  
بی شاه هیچ نتواند پیش بردن، خاصه چون خصم  
بزرگ بوز .

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اما معلومست کی سی مرغ مهتر ماست . مارا پیش  
سیمرغ باید رفتن و احوال بر وی عرض کردن .  
پیش سیمرغ رفتند، و بیک بار بانگ بر آوردند و شرط فریاد خواهی  
بجای آوردند . سیمرغ آواز ایشان بشنید، از جای خون بیرون آمد  
و ایشانرا بار داد و گوش بسخن ایشان آورد و گفت کی -  
شمارا پیش من چه آورده است و چه رنج روی شما نهاد، کی  
بیک بار بخروش و فغان آمدید ؟  
مرغان طیطوی را پیش کردند تا شکایت وکیل دریا بگفت و حال  
خون معلوم کرد . و گفتند کی -

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مارا خداوند توای، و جز ترا پشت و پناه نداریم . و اگر  
نه اعتماد یاری، تو بوزی، جهان از دست آدمی بر ما تنگ و  
تاریک شدی، و بر ما پوشیده نیست کی دست تو بالا، دست  
وکیل دریاست و زور تو بیش از زور وی است . گله پیش تو  
با این آورده ایم تا مارا یاری کنی .

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سیمرغ بشنید و چنگ و پر باز کرد و آهنگ وکیل دریا کرد . چون  
وکیل دریا ضعف خویش و قوت سیمرغ بدید، بزندهار خواست و  
بچگان باز جای داد .

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چون دمنه ازین سخن بپرداخت، گفت -

ای شنزبه، من این مثل باز گفتم تا ترا معلوم گردن کی بهر  
وقتی چنگ در خورد نبود، و ترا بهیچ حال با شیر چنگ کردنی نیست و  
دشمنی آشکارا نموننی نیست، تا خون وی چه پیدا کند . اما  
احتراز کردن شرط است .

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شنزبه گفت -

این کی تو می گوی هم وجهی دارد . چنین باید کردن . من

بهر حال با وی آغاز جنگ نکنم، و خوذ را نشانهٔ عداوت نگردانم، و همان قاعده کی داشتم در خدمت نگاه دارم تا مرا چیزی از وی ظاهر شوز کی در وی بیم بوز . آنگاه تدبیر کار بکنم .  
دمنه [با خود] گفت کی -

این صفت کی او می گوید، مرا زیان دارد از بهر آنک چون حال بر شنزبه متغیر نگردد، شیر بداند کی من خلاف گفته ام و این قاعده باطل گردد .

[شنزبه را] گفت -

برو و بدو در نگر، کی بهمه حال نگریدن دوست از نگریدن دشمن پدید بود .

شنزبه گفت کی -

این را چون توانم دانستن .

دمنه گفت کی -

هر گاه کی شیر را بینی کی (f.43b) سوی تو شَمَندِه واز می نگر، و هر گاه بر سرِ دو پای می نشیند، و سینه می افرازد، و کُک می اندازد، بدان کی او با تو عزم بدی دارد .

شنزبه گفت کی -

اگر آنچه تو می گوی از وی ظاهر گردد، مرا در عذر وی هیچ شکی نماند .

چون دمنه از آغالیدن هر دو جانب برداخت، بر خاست و بنزیک کلیله رفت . کلیله گفت -

ای برادر، مدتی در سر این کار کردی و رنجی بسیار ببردی . آخر نگوای کی کار کجا رسید .

دمنه گفت -

نزدیک آمد کی بمراد برسم، چنانک دل من می خواهد تا ترا معلوم گردد، ای برادر، کی مرد چاره دار چون بر رفق و آهستگی کاری بر دست گیرد، از تمام کردن آن کار در نماند . و نیز بدان کی هر دوستی کی سکالیده<sup>۱</sup> پای بندی در وی کشید بر آن قاعده نماند کی بناچارش رخنه گرداند، همچنانک آب کی بمداومت



سنگ را سولاخ کند .

کلیله گفت کی -

چنانست کی تو می گوی، کی بیدار بناچار بر خفته بچربد .

و هر دو بر خاستند و بنزدیک شیر شدند تا چون شنزبه در آید چه پیدا شوند . چون شنزبه در پیش شیر آمد و در حال او تجربت می کرد کی تا خوز چه آشکارا شوند . چون دید کی شیر ساخت غریزن و شمندن و بخشم نگریدن و گوشها فراهم کشیدن، [با خوز] گفت کی -

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دمنه راست گفت .

با خوز [باز] گفت کی -

هرک در کنار ملوک از بزرگان گشت ، مثال وی همچنان آمد کی

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مار را در کنار پرورد ، بداند کی روزی طبع خویش بنماید و جان او

بگراید ، اما نداند کی خواهد بودن .

این اندیشه بکرد و بگفت کی -

بهمه حال این بخواهد بودن . باری نامرد وار خوز را بدست وی

باز ندهم . یکی بکوشم تا خوز از کار چه زاید .

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او نیز آغازید بیرون راست کردن، و چشم بر هم زن، و در دیده نگاه

کردن . شیر در نگرید و آن علامت کی دمنه گفته بود بدیده آرغده

گشت، و گفت -

این گیاه خوار بحقیقت بجنگر من آمده است .

و آهنگ شنزبه کرد . و شنزبه نیز قصد وی کرد و جنگ میان ایشان سخت

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شد . و شیر کوهان و گردن شنزبه را فراهم کشید و شنزبه سینه شیر را

بدرید، و خون از هر دو روان شد . کلیله در نگرید، سینه شیر دید

خسته و پُشت و کوهان گاو در هم شکسته (f.44a) و فتنه و جنگ بر

خاسته و هر دو در هم آویخته فرا . کلیله گفت -

ای فسل آمیز و نیرنگ انگیز . بنگر کی چه ناسزاوارکاری کردی و چه

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بزرگ شوری انگیختی . نه پندارم کی انجام این کار ستوده آید، بل کی

ناچار این معاملت تو ترا روزی بگراید .

دمنه گفت -

چه انجام باشد بد آمد این کار را، کی بمراد خویش رسیدم و

# دشمن را بکام بدیدم ؟

کلیله گفت -

چه خواهی بیش ازین کی شیر رشوا شد، کی بدست کمتر کسی خسته گشت، و شنزبه کی یاری موافق بوز کُشته گشت، و جمله لشکرا دل شکسته شد، و خاطرها بر اندیشه گشت ؟ و مرا نیز پیدا آمد کی

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آن همه دعوی آهستگی و زیرکی کی تو می کردی یاز بوز این مایه . نمی دانی کی هیچ کم دانشی نبوز تَنک کمال و اندک خرد تر از آن کسی کی مهتر خویش را بر چنک کهتران و ناهمسران دارد بوقتی کی از وی چاره بود، زیرا کی اگر مهتر بیفند دیر راست گردن، و اگر کهتر را بیفکند بس کاری نکرده باشد . و مرد بوز کی بر چنک

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دلیر بوز و بر خصم خویش چیر بود، اما دست از چنک نداشت از بیم یک چیر و باومید یک چیز از بیم آنک بوز کی بر نیاید، و یا مخاطره سرب کند، و یا نکبتی از روزگار در راه بوز، بل شاید کی بوجهی دیگر بمراد خویش رسد، کی هر کدام رای زنی کی پادشاه خوز را بر چنک و کارزار حریص گرداند . در کاری کی برفق و صلح بر آید، او پادشاه خوز را از آن خصم بزرگتر بوز در دشمنی، همچنانک آدمی تا مادام کی دلش بر جای بود، اگر چه تن ضعیف گردن یکباره از کار باز نماند، و لیک چون دل ضعیف گردن زور و قوت تیغ دل شود .

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و رای و تدبیر و مردی و شجاعت برادران اند، اما با یک دیگر عهد

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دارند کی تا با هم نیایند، هیچ کاری نکند . و بزرگ و سر این برادران رای است، کی هیچ کاری از چنک و صلح و نیک و بد و سود و زیان از رای مستغنی نیست . و هرک مکرری کند و سکالشی، باید کی آغاز و انجام او را ببیند . و اگر نه، آنگاه خرن او چون خرن تو بوز و آخر کار وی چون عاقبت کار تو بوز، و چنان نیست کی بر

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من عاقبت این کار پوشیده شود . (f.44b) و من دانستم کی روزی این کار بجاء کشد کی ندامت بر آوزد، و می دیدم کی تو ازین یک معنی غافل گشته ای، کی مرد باید کی هر کاری کی یقین نداند کی بچه خواهد رسیدن، دست در وی نیازد . اما آنچ مرا

از گفتار باز داشت، آن بوز کی قدری بگفتم و سوز نداشت . و  
دیگر کی دانستم کی تو از شراب پنداشت مست شده ای . گفتار  
با تو بری باز ندهد و از خود بینی در حجاب تهور مانده ای ؛ از  
آن حجاب دشخوار بیرون ای . ولیک اکنون ترا و مرا ست رای  
تو آشکارا گشت و بدیدم کی عقل تو چه ثمرت آورد . بر من  
واجب گشت کی ترا از عیبه‌ها و آفتها پنداشت تو آگاه گردانم ؛  
اولاً آنست کی تو گفتار می دانی ، اما با گفتار تو کردار یار نیست ،  
و گفتار بی کردار هیچ قدری ندارد ، و سخن بی آگاهی و کلاه بی  
سخاوت و دوست بی وفا و زندگانی بی تن درستی و ایمنی و  
شادمانی ، بهیچ کاری باز نیاید .

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و تو گردی بر انگیختی کی او را جز عقلی تمام نشانند و دردی را راه  
بر گشادی کی جز کمال خردش چاره نداند . چنانک بیمار را کی فساد  
صفرا و هیجان خون و استیلا ، بلغم فرا دید آید ، او را چاره و  
درمان جز پزشک استاز نداند . و بدانک دانش خوانده از مرد  
عافل مستی جهل ببرد ، و بی خرد را مستی غفلت بیفزاید ، همچنانک  
روشنا آفتاب نور دیده ، بینا بیفزاید اما از شب ( بترك ) آن قدری  
نیز کی باشد بر باید . و مرد کامل اگرچه بزرگ گرد و سرافرازی  
یابد ، از پایگاه خرد شناسی قدم بر ندارد ، مانند کوهی کی هر چند  
باز سختتر بود ، او را درّه ای از جای خرد در نجنباند درد دون  
همت باندک مایه جاه و پایگاهی کی بیابد ، معجب گرد و خرد را  
فراموش کند ، مانند خاشاکی ضعیف کی بهر بانی و اگرچه اندک  
بوز لرزان شود ، گاه بجانب راست کژی گیرد و گاه بجانب چپ خم  
پذیرد .

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و این معاملت کی تو بجا ، ما کردی و این شور کی از معاملت تو  
آشکارا گشت ، مرا سخنی خوش یاز آورد کی وقتی شنیده بوزم ، و  
آن آنست کی گفته اند ، کی -

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پادشاه را چون وزیران و پیش نشینان بد نما و کم خرد  
باشند ، راحت او بهیچ کسی نرسد . همچون آبی  
( f.45a ) کی نهنگان دارند ، اگرچه خوش گوار و صافی و

پاکیزه باشد و مرد اگرچه شناور و آب آزمای بوز، گردوی  
گشتن نیارز کی از وی آب بر دارد یا ماهی بر دارد، از بیم  
آنک نهنگش بیوبارز .

و بدانک آزمایش پادشاه بلشکر و وزیران باشد و بکارگران و شکوه  
دولت بسیاست بوز همچنانک سهم دریا در موج است . و تو  
خواستی کی بشیر جز تو هیچ کس نزدیک نبود، و پیش او جز تو کسی را  
سخن نرود . و این مُحال بوز کی بیک تن نام پادشاهی بتوان  
یافت، و هرک بمصلحت کار خود نکرز و از آن یار غافل گردز، آن رنگ  
روزی بوی باز گردز .

هر چند، ای برادر من، من بگفتم و سخت بگفتم و سرزنش تو از  
اندازه ببردم و ترا راه ادب و صحبت ملوک باز نمودم، می دانم  
کی هیچ سوز ندارز، چنانک آن مرد آن پرنده را گفت کی -  
براست کردن آنچ راستی نیزیرز مکوش و از آنک بی خرد  
بوز خرد منیوش، کی رنج بری و هیچ بری حاصل نگرز .

دمنه گفت -

آن چگونه بوزه است ؟

کلیله گفت کی -

آورده اند در حکایات کی گروهی از حمدونگان شب تاء دیدند و بر  
وی گرد آمدند . پنداشتند کی آتش است و از هر سوای هیزم  
گرد آوردند و بر نهادند و دمیدند . و هر چند بیش دمیدند  
بهیچ مقصودی نرسیدند، زیرا کچون رنج بدان جایگاه بری، هیچ  
بری حاصل نگرز . و در همسایگی ایشان مرغی بوز، آواز بر  
آورد و گفت -

ای بیچارگان، عمر خود بباز مدهیز و بدین شب تاب رنج  
مبْرِید، کی این آتش نیست .

نشندند . [مرغ] از درخت بزیر آمد کی برون و ایشانرا بند  
دهد . مردی آنجایگاه بگذشت و گفت -

ای مرغ، رنج مبر بر آنک براه نیاید، و براستی مکوش آنرا  
کی در نهاد او سستی بوز .

سنگی کی بریدن نتوان، بر وی شمشیر آزمودن شرط  
نیست .

و چوبی کم خم نگیرد، راستی هم نپذیرد .  
و هرک رنج بیهوده برز، بناچار پشیمانی خورد و از  
کرده کُفر برز .

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و آن مرغ نیز پند نپذیرفت، و پیش رفت کی حمدونگان را از آن کار  
باز دارد . حمدونه<sup>۱</sup> را خشم آموذ، در جست و او را بگرفت و بر  
زمین زد و بکشت .

اکنون (f.45b)، ای دمنه، این مثالِ تو اُست، کی نه از ادب  
خودت سوز هست و نه پندت سوز می دارد . و با این همه  
دو آفت دیگر است: یکی سراندرونی و دوم نازیرکی؛ و ازین هر دو  
سراندرونی بتر اُست . و تو درین دو خلّت بد و خصلت نا  
هموار بدان دو مردمانی کی یکی سازه و ابله بود، و یکی طرّار و  
سراندرون .

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دمنه گفت -

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این چگونه بوزه است ؟

کلیله گفت -

آورده اند در حکایات کی دو مرد بوزه اند، یکی طرّار و دیگر ابله .  
هر دو ببازرگانی همباز گشتند و روی براه نهادند . پس اتفاق  
چنان افتاد کی این ابله باز پس ماند و بدّره بیافت، در وی هزار  
دینار . بیامد و طرّار را آگاه کرد . پس اتفاق کردند کی -  
مارا باز گشتن اولی تر کی ازین بازرگانی خون این سوز بما  
نرسد .

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باز گشتند . چون بشهر و جایگاه خود رسیدند، این ابله گفت -  
بیا تا قسمت کنیم نیمی تو بر دار و نیمی من .  
طرّار با خود گفته بود کی -

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سگالشی باید کردن کی مگر همه با من بماند .

گفت -

ای برادر، مرا انبازی تو مبارک آموذ است . نمی خواهم

کی با یک دیگر باز بخشیم . تو ازین جمله نفقاتی بر دار  
تا من نفقاتی بر دارم، و آنک بماند جایگاهی پنهان کنیم ؛  
و هرک ما را حاجت بوز بیاییم و نفقاتی بر داریم . اندی  
کی مرا از تو جدا نباید گشتن .

5 بر همین اتفاق کردند و بنزدیک درختی بزرگ رفتند و زر زیر درخت  
پنهان کردند . چون روزی چند بر آمد، آن انباز طرار بیامد و  
زر بر داشت و برفت . چون ماهی دیگر بگذشت، [طرار] بر خاست  
و بنزدیک انباز ابله رفت و گفت کی -

ما را بنفقات حاجت افتادست . بیا تا برویم و چیزی بر  
داریم .

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چون آنجا رسیدند، زمین را بکندند و هیچ نیافتند . انباز محتال  
دست فریاد و گریه و زاری برد و بانگ بر آورد، کی -  
هیچ کس مباد کی بر کسی اعتماد کند، خاصه درین روزگار .  
و ابله را گفت کی -

زر بر داشتی و بپردی .

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و آن بیچاره آواز می داشت و می گریست، کی -  
آگاه نیستم . و خبر ندارم .

با محتال سوز نداشت . [طرار] ریش (f.46a) آن بیچاره  
گرفت و پیش داور برد . چون پیش قاضی رسیدند، دعوی کرد و  
حال خون باز گفت و از دست ابله فریاد کرد . حاکم از آن مرد  
سازده جواب خواست . [ابله] گفت -

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خبر ندارم . و آگاه نیستم .

آن طرار گفت کی -

آخر دانی کی جز من و تو هیچ کسی دیگر ندانست .

قاضی محتال را گفت -

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گوا داری ؟

گفت -

دارم .

گفت -

بیار .

[طرّار] گفت -

آن درخت کی زر در زیر او بود از بهر من گواهی دھد .  
داور را این سخن شگفت آمد . گفت -

ای عجب ! درخت گواهی چگونه دھد ؟

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گفت -

فردا بامداد او را بگویم تا گواهی بدهد .  
و سازه را ببیند آن بدان تا دیگر روز . پس طرّار بخانه آمد و با  
پدر خویش این قصہ یاد کرد و گفت -

ای پدر من ، این درخت را کی بگواهی خواندم ، از بهر کاری  
خواندم کی با خون سگالیزه ام -

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اگر تو ، کی پذیری ، با من یار کردی ، این هزار دینار  
با ما بماند و پانصد دیگر از ابلہ بستانیم و قسمت  
کنیم .

پدر گفت -

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آن چیست کتو سگالش کرده ای ؟

گفت -

آن درخت را میانہ کاواک کرده ام ، چنانک اگر کسی خواهد از  
ھر گوشہ کی بایش در روز و هیچ کسی نداند . باید کی  
امشب بر خیزی و بزیر آن درخت روی و در میانہ او  
پنہان گردی . فردا کی من قاضی را آنجایگاہ آورم ، قاضی  
از درخت باز پرسد ، تو از میانہ درخت آواز دہی کی -  
زر انباز ابلہ بر داشت .

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پدر گفت -

ای پسر ، اگر تدبیری دیگر دانی ، بساز کہ -

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بسا حیل کی بسگالیزہ باز گردن و رنجہا درازش  
پیش آورز .

نباید کی مکر تو ترا زیر پای خون بکوبد ، همچنانک آن  
سنگشت نر را افتاز .

پسر گفت -

آن چگونه بوزه است ؟

پدر گفت -

آورده اند در حکایات کی بروزگار سنگپشتی نر بوزه است در  
آبی و بهم‌سایگی او ماری مقام داشت . هرگاه مار  
پیامدی و بچگان این سنگپشت را بخوردی . مرد سنگپشت  
آن درد می کشید و زان و بود خود نمی توانست بجای  
گذاشتن و، همواره بآن سبب غمگین بوز تا روزی خرچنگی  
آنجا فرا رسید ؛ (f.46b) او را دید غمناک ، گفت -

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ای برادر، ترا چه غم رسیده است و چرا غم‌ناکی ؟

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مرا باز گوی تا مگر چاره سازم .

سنگپشت احوال خود با خرچنگ یاز کرد و درد دلی کی از  
مار بوی رسیده بوز باز گفت . خرچنگ گفت -

من ترا چاره ای بیاموزم کی تو دانه دل خویش از

وی بستانی .

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سنگپشت گفت کی -

آن چیست ؟

گفت -

در این سنگ راسوی هست کی دشمن مارست ، و  
راسو ماهی دوست دارد . تو برو و ماهی بسیار گرد  
آور و بدر سوراخ راسو بنه ، و یکی از پی یکی می نه  
تا بدر سوراخ مار، کی راسو بیاید و همچنان ماهی  
می خورد تا بیمار برسند و ناچار او را بکشند .

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همچنان کرد . راسو بدر آمد و ماهی خوردن آغاز کرد؛ و  
عَلْهًا می خورد تا نزدیک مار رسید ؛ مار را هلاک کرد و باز  
گشت کی دیگر ماهی جویند . بسیار بجست و نیافت ؛ گردان  
گردان بر بچگان سنگپشت افتاد و بخورد .

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و این مثل از بهر آن یاز کردم تا ترا معلوم گردن کی  
هرک سگالش کند و انجام را بر نه اندیشد، بکاری از آن بتر



گرفتار گردن .

طرّار گفت -

ای [پذیر]، بشنیدم این کی تو گفتی، امّا روزگار مبر کی کار از دست بروند .

پذیر بر خاست و برفت و بکاواک درخت بر شد . تا دیگر روز کی قاضی بیامد و از درخت باز پرسید، مرد آواز بر آورد کی - این زر ابله بر داشت .

قاضی ازین کار بشگفت ماند و گرد بر گرد درخت برگشت . هیچ نیافت و گفت -

بروید و هیزم آورید .

آتش بیاوردند و زیر درخت دوز کرد . مردک ساعتی صبر بکرد . چون دوز غلبه کرد، مردک فریاد و فغان بر آورد . قاضی بانگ او بشنید، بفرموز تا او را بیاوردند بحال مرگ رسیده . و بفرموز تا او را ادبی بواجبی بکردند، و طرّار را بفرموز تا غرامت زر بکشند و بفرموز تا جمله زر بآن سازه راست کار دادند .

پس کلیله گفت -

ای دمنه، من این مثل از بهر آن یاز کردم تا ترا معلوم گردن کی -

نه هرک مکر کند بسر برز، و نه هرک بسر برز انجام راحت یابد .

و کمتر کاری کی ازین مکر تو پدید آمدن است، کی این شیر را خسته بکردی (f.47a) و در میان خلق رسوا بکردی . و بر این کار پدید آید و طرفی ازین رنج بمن باز گردن، کی -

مرد دوروی و دو زبان هم زیان خون بوز و هم زیان دیگران، و آب رود چندان خوش بوز کی بشوری دریا نرسد، و صلاح خاندان چندان بوز، کی دو زبان در وی راه نیابد .

و من زیان ترا مانند ماری می بینم کی با کسی همسایه باشد؛ بناچار او را روزی بگزاید، و مار افساء هر وقتی مار را نوازد و افسونهای خوش خواند، ولکن اگر دست یابد بجز گریزن هیچ کاری نکند . و

بزرگان گفته اند کی -

تا توانی با عاقل صحبت کن، و با کریم گستاخی نہای، و از بد  
کردار و سر اندرون بجز دوری مجبوی، و با عاقلی کی کردارش  
بد بوز صحبت می کن، اما از سرشت بدش پرهیز کن و از  
عقلش فایده آ بر می دار .

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و سرشت بد تو با مہتر تو کی بوی بزرگ گشتہ، و ترا باین محل  
رسانیدہ است؛ این کردی کی می بینم و مثل جز آن نیست کی  
گفتہ اند -

زمینی کی موشان او صد من آہن بخورند، اگر بازان او  
پیل ربایند عجب نبود .

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دمنہ گفت -

این چگونه بودہ است ؟

[کلیلہ] گفت -

آورہ اند در حکایات کی در ولایتی بازرگانی بوزہ است . خواست  
کی بسفر رود و صد من آہن داشت؛ نزدیک کسی بودیعت نہاد .  
چون باز آمد، آہن باز خواست . اتفاق را آن کس آہن بفروختہ  
بوز و بخرچ کردہ . گفت -

15

آہن تو بگوشہ خانہ نہادہ بود، موشان بخوردند .

مرد بازرگان گفت -

سپاس آن خدای را کی ترا از آن موشان نگاہ داشت .  
مرد خیانت کار از گفتار وی شاذمانہ گشت؛ خداوند آہن گفت کی -  
مرا می باید کی امشب ساعتی بہم عشرت کنیم .

20

گفت -

روا بوز .

چون بدر آمد، دید کی پسر آن مرد خیانت کار ایستادہ بوز . بر  
گرفت و جای پنهان کرد و سوی مرد خاین رفت کی او را بخانہ  
مہمان برز . مرد کی او را بدید گفت -

25

ای برادر، ہیچ جای پسری کوچک از آن من دیدی ؟

گفت -

این ساعت بازی دیدم کی از هوا در پرید و کوزکی را بر  
گرفت و ببرد . مگر پسر تو بوز .  
مرد خاین آواز بر داشت کی -  
ای عجب ! هرگز کی دیده است (f.47b) بازی کی کودک  
رباید .

5

خداوند آهن گفت کی -  
در شهری کی موشان او صد من آهن بخورند، عجب مدار  
کی بازان او پیل ربایند، خاصه آدمی مرد خاین بدانست  
کی آن چه سخن است .  
گفت -

10

ای برادر، بیا تا هر دو راست بمیان آییم، آهن خود باز  
ایستان و کودک من باز ده .

و این مثل با تو بآن گفتم تا تو هشیار باشی کی این غدر کی با  
ملك و خداوند خویش کردی . با آن همه راحت کی تو از وی  
یافتی مكافات او باز یابی . و مرا معلوم گشت کی دوستی را  
نزدیک تو هیچ قدری نیست، و هیچ چیز نیست ضایع تر از دوستی  
نمودن با کسی کی سپاس ندارد، و آموختن ادب کسی را کی جز  
خود کسی را دانا نشمارد، و راز نهان بنزدیک کسی کی بصحرا آرد .  
و اگر درخت تلخ را هزار بار بانگین و روغن بیندای، جز تلخی  
نیفزاید و ننماید . و هر چند کی من دعوی زیرکی و مرد شناسی  
می کنم، آخر صحبت تو بر من پوشیده گشت، کی -

15

20

صحبت نیکان جز نیکی نفزاید و صحبت بدان جز محنت  
ننماید . همچنانک باز، اگر بر مُشک و عنبر گذر کند، بهر  
جاء کی برسند مغزها را تازه گردانند، و اگر بر مکروهی گذر  
کند، هر جا کی رسند مغزها را خیره گردانند .

25

و بهر حالی کی می نگرم، می دانم کی ترا سخن من ناخوش و  
گران می نماید، و تا بوزه است چنین بوزه است کی -  
دانا بر دل نادان و سخی بر دل بخیل و سبک سر بر دل  
بردار، گران بوزه است .

چون سخنِ کلیله با دمنه تمام گشت، شیر کارِ شنبزه تمام کرده بوز و خشم  
او با سری شده و پشیمانی آمده و دامن او گرفته، کی -

ای دریفا، خرن و رای شنبزه . ای دریفا، نصیحتها وی در وقت  
صحبت . ای دریفا، اندیشه‌ها وی در هنگام معاملات . آیا  
کوای -

5

کناه کار بوز و بد

بدینچ دید سزاوار بوز . ویا -

پاک و بی جرم بوز -

و اینچ بز وی رفت ستم بوز .

و بغایت پشیمان گشت و غمناک بنشست .

10

دمنه دریافت کی چه افتاد، کلیله را بر جای بگذاشت و پیش شیر آمد و  
گفت -

سپاس آن خدای را کی خداوندان را بر دشمن چیره گردانید، و  
دشمن شاه بدامِ هلاک گرفتار کرد، (f.48b) و غدرِ او را پای دام  
او ساخت، و خاطر خداوند از کار او بپرداخت، و شاه را اندک مایه  
فرو رفته . می بینم از چوکی جز خیر نبود .

15

شیر گفت کی -

دلم از بهر شنبزه تنگ شده‌ام، کی چاکری عاقل بوز، و الحق دلم  
بر وی همی بسوزد .

دمنه گفت -

20

بر خداوند باز، کی خاطر خوش دارند و ازین یاز نیارند، کی پانشاه  
را از آن چاره نبود کی گاه یکی را دور گردانند و از نزدیک خوز  
مہجور کند و بلباسِ حرمان تنِ او را بپوشانند . نازش نزدیک  
گردانند و پیش خویش خوانند و بر بساط نواختن بنشانند . و گاه  
یکی را بنوازند و بمحلی بزرگ برسانند و یکی از خوز گردانند . آنگاه  
چو داند کی از وی آفتی سربر خواهد کرد، او را بدست سیاست  
بست کند و بتیغ انتقام مادّتِ آفاتِ او را منقطع گرداند، همچنانک  
اگر مار انگشتِ کسی بگزد و ترسد کی زهر سرایت کند، تدبیر همان  
بوز کی انگشت را ببرند و بیندازند .

25

شیر این سخن بشنید، پاره ای تسلّی یافت و از آن افکنده و سکیزه خویش  
پاره ای بخورد، و دمنه را باز نزدیک کرد .

فیلسوف گفت -

بقاء ملك باز . این بدان گفتم و شرح دادم تا خداوند تجربت کنده کی  
این کار بذهین بزرگی بدست دمنه بدان حقیری چگونه بر آمد، کی اگر چه در  
جنب شیر و گاو او بهیچ نسجد، چون دست بمکر و حیل برد، آن دوستی  
موءکد را چگونه دشمنی کرد . و تا هرک این داستان بر خواند و بداند،  
گوش بهر کسی ندارد، و سخن بدگویان را از گوش سر بگوش دل نگذارد،  
و از هرک چیزی بشنود تجربت را کار فرماید، کی این راه نیک بختان است و  
عادت زیرکان است . و هرک در کارها بحزم و حصافت فرو رود، هرگز  
پشیمان نگردد - ان شالله تعالی .

5

10

سپری شد کتابِ کلیله و دمنه در پانزده باب و  
پسرِ مقفع گفت کی من همواره از خداوندانِ  
عقل و اصحابِ رای صفت این کتاب شنیده ام؛  
در وی ثناها گفته اند و در کارها معاونی  
است هرچ تمامتر و مؤدبی هرچ شایسته تر

5

وقع الفراغ من کتبه فی الاوائل من  
صفر سنه اربع واربعم و خمسمائه

و کتب ظفر بن مسعود بن الحسن المکشی  
بابی البرکات الفقیه الجربادقانی - حامداً  
لله تعالی و مصلیاً علی نبیه محمد وآله  
الطاهرین اجمعین  
وسلم تسلیماً کثیراً

10

NOTES TO THE MANUSCRIPT

- 1/1 Dedication. Virtually all the Arabic and Persian honorifics given on this page and page seven (lines 14-20) to Sayfo 'd-Dīn Ġāzī b. 'Imādo 'd-Dīn Zangī b. Ak Sonkor are standard titles applied to Muslim monarchs of the period, though several of them appear to have been adopted particularly by Zangī's Atabeg dynasty. Coşkun Alptekin in the appendix to his Ph.D. thesis 'The Reign of Zangī, 521-541/1127-1146' (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London; May, 1971) has collected titles used in numerous inscriptions by or for Zangī; those which agree with the honorifics applied here to his son are: al-Mo'ayyad, al-Mansūr, al-Mozaffar, 'Imādo 'd-Dīn, Rokno 'l-Islām, Zahīro 'l-Imām, Mohiyi 'l-'Adl, Kasīmo 'd-Daula, Nāsīro 'l-Milla, Kāhiro l-Motamarriḍīn, Şamso 'l-Ma'ālī, Pahlavān-i Cahān, Hosrau-yi Īrān and Nāsīro Amīri 'l-Mo'minīn. Close matches are Şarafo 'l-Omma, Calālo 'l-Molūk and Maliko Omarā'i 'l-Maşrik va'l-Mağrib. Among the Turkish titles collected by Alptekin are Alp Ġāzī, Inanç Kutluğ, Tuğrultekin and Atabeg, along with Ak Arslan which is not far removed from Ac Arslan. Sir Gerard Clauson, in his Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish (Oxford, 1972), discusses the words alp, ac, arslan, inanç, kutluğ, tuğril, tegin, ak and sunkur. It seems likely that the author intends a rhyme between Tuğrultekin (l.11) and al-Mo'manīn (l.12).

- 2/1 This Introductory chapter [A in the cross-index] is entirely al-Boḥārī's, owing nothing to Ibn Muḳaffa's Arabic. Spaces in the edition correspond to spaces occurring between sac groupings in the MS. It is virtually impossible to punctuate this passage due to its sac parallelism.
- 2/19 Va ki-rā...ṣaṣānīd. This may be an allusion to an official taster who would test for poison any food intended for a king. (f.1b/17)
- 3/13 kirātik Probably a broken plural of kurtak given in Rh and Hava to mean a highly coloured tunic or gown. Related, perhaps, to Persian kortak or korta. (f.2a/12)
- 3/20 In this line and the next, smeared ink renders several words illegible. (f.2a/18-19)
- 4/1 Kur'an, 37:1;2. (f.2b/6)
- 4/14 منظّم This word is written منظّم. (f.2b/16)
- 5/26 Va Afrāsiyāb... This mythical character, found in both the Avesta and the Šāhnāma, was never a hero to the Iranians, yet he is so treated here. (f.3b/10)
- 6/1 tabaccoh As this word is written completely without dots, the reading is uncertain. (f.3b/13)
- 6/3 Sahbān-i Vā'il A Companion of the Prophet, noted for his eloquence. (f.3b/14)
- rāst This word is connected to the preceding letter, so that it looks like ba-dāst or ba-rāst. (f.3b/14)
- 6/4 Ahnāf-i Kays A Companion of the Prophet, noted for his sagacity. (f.3b/14-15)
- 6/10 This and the following three lines include numerous



astronomical/astrological terms.

- 6/14 ميرات In the text this word is written with a final ta and with the tasdīd; no explanation seems adequate. (f.4a/2)
- ba-istifsāt The ink is too smeared for a certain reading. (f.4a/2)
- 6/15 zard-o-talh The MS places a hamza above the conjunction in this instance and in many others so as to indicate a close affinity of meaning or function in pairs of words. (f.4a/4)
- 7/4 ba-pand MS is smudged. (f.4a/19)
- 7/14 The titles in this and the following six lines are almost identical to those in the dedication on p.1. (f.4b/7-12)
- 7/23 The people listed in this passage are described above, pp.5/26-6/6. (f.4b/14-17)
- 7/26 ‘Osmānī The MS writes the word without an alif. (f.4b/16)
- 8/9 comlagī The text originally read comalī but has been amended in the margin to read comlagī. (f.5a/6)
- 8/13 bayto ‘l-ma‘mūn Kur‘ān, 52:4. (f.5a/9)
- 8/15 Offī (?) MS has no tasdīd. (f.5a/10)
- 8/18 maṣarakahu Perhaps MS should read maṣarafahu. (f.5a/12)
- 8/20 The translator's name appears twice in the text, here and on p.24/27. In neither instance is the word given any dots so that while the probable reading is al-Boḥārī, something quite different, e.g. an-Naccārī, is possible. (ff.5a/13 and 13b/14-15)

- 8/23 sāht Whereas the MS almost invariably gives three teeth to each sīn, there are only two on the sīn in this word, making this reading doubtful. Perhaps it is ba-tāht. (f.5a/16)
- 9/19 The closing quotation occurs in exactly this form in the Kur'ān three times (22:6; 41:39; 46:33) and in variant forms many more times. (f.5b/15)
- 10/1 The chapter of Borzūy's Mission to India [C] is generally considered to have been a part of the Pahlavī version of the text translated by Ibn Muḳaffa' and occurs in all the Islamic versions except Kaṣifī's Anvār-i Sohaylī and its direct descendents. See KF, pp.xxi-xxiv. (f.5b/16)
- 11/1 Kur'ān, 5:54; 57:21; 62:4. (f.6a/17)
- 12/2 barūmand May be por-ūmīd, but the nūn does appear to have a dot in the MS. (f.7a/1)
- 14/5 birūn The MS normally writes bīrūn, but gives the shorter form on occasion. (f.8a/4)
- 14/10 hāl The MS writes hāk. (f.8a/7)
- 14/25 dānis... The MS is badly smudged here. (f.8a/17)
- 15/28 tū, kī Mozaffarī,... Al-Boḥārī frequently uses this device to remind the reader/listener of who is speaking. (f.8b/18)
- 17/20 cavānmardī The nūn is omitted in the MS. (f.9b/14)
- 20/1 Āgāz-i Kitāb-i Kalīla va Dimna This chapter is a translation and abridgement of Ibn Muḳaffa's preface [D in the cross-index], although al-Boḥārī nowhere identifies it as such. Several of the tales included in most Arabic editions are not found here.

- 20/25 This tale of the Man who Found Treasure [D1] is found in Arabic versions, in Naṣrollāh and in Abū Faḏl. (f.11b/9)
- 21/10 ba-hāna-hā There are numerous occasions in the MS where the final ha of a noun is assimilated when forming a plural with -hā. (f.11b/17)
- 21/13 habā'an mansūran This phrase is from the Kur'ān, 25:23. (f.11b/19)
- 22/7 The tale of the Two Grain-Sellers and the Cloak [D4] is found in the Arabic but in no other Persian versions. (f.12a/17)
- koncīd This word is given two forms in this story: koncīd and koncod. (f.12a/18)
- 23/4 The story of the Dervish and the Thief [D7] appears in most of the Arabic texts but in none of the Persian versions. (f.12b/17)
- 24/2 odm The MS is smudged. (f.13a/16)
- 24/7 kī dar gozaṣtan The MS writes this phrase twice. (ff.13a/19, 13b/1)
- 24/28 zabān-i Yūnānī This collection of fables did not, of course originate in the Greek language, although Ibn Muḳaffa's Arabic version was translated into Greek. (f.13b/15)
- 26/22 na-goziḏ The MS is smudged. (f.14a/1)
- 26/23 bahā The MS is smudged. (f.14a/1)
- 28/2 kafḷalīzī A ladel full of holes (St). (f.15a/1)
- 28/9 donyā ġirra Extraneous marks on donyā render this reading uncertain. (f.15a/7)
- 29/22 It is these lines questioning religion which cause many

- to attribute at least part of the composition of this bāb to Ibn Mukaffa'. (f.15b/18)
- 30/29 Ay mard The first word is written امی . (f.16b/1)
- 32/9 niṣān The MS writes niṣān-rā. (f.17a/2)
- 32/19 torā ma'lūm savad The MS writes this clause twice. (f.17a/5)
- 34/22 'imārat The MS is smudged. (f.17b/16)
- 35/17 tanāhā'irā (?) The MS writes the word thus without the hamza. (f.18a/14)
- 36/7 Hodārīkūn (?) This kāzī is not named in either Ch or Sad, being styled merely al-kāzī (Ch, p.39) or kāzin (Sad, p.68). Az calls him كديرون of Marv (p.37) and in a footnote (no.9, p.288) says that the judge's name is not otherwise known. (f.18b/10)
- 37/13 cūn The MS is smudged. (f.19a/16)
- 39/1 ba-sīr The MS writes this word without dots. (f.20a/16)
- 40/1 In all the version of Kalīla wa-Dimna the chapter of the Lion and the Bull is the major one, for it is only in this chapter and the next that the two jackals Kalīla and Dimna appear. This chapter is one of the five books of the Pañcatantra and is designated [G] in the cross-index in this thesis.
- siparī ṣodan While somewhat unusual, the use of this term in the title is entirely within the accepted meaning of siparī, which is 'to be finished, ended, exhausted' (St). (f.20b/8)
- 40/2 Daysalam (?) Throughout the MS the name of the Indian king is written ديسلم . Although this spelling

is not the most common one, it is a recognized variant. Other forms are: ريلم ريلم ريشلم ريشلم رابشليم etc. Of these, the first two are the most usual and are commonly vocalized Dābsilīm and Dabsalīm; Naṣrollah writes the former, whereas Kāṣifī avoids the issue by simply using Ra'y. See By, I, p.32; Notices, IX, p.403; KF, p.270; Gui, p.21; Ch, p.38; Az, p.289. (f.20b/9)

Bidayā (?) The MS consistently writes بيدا , a less common form of the philosopher's name. Spellings found elsewhere include بيلای بيدا بيدا بيدا , etc., the first three being the most common. Edgerton gives the Sanscrit form of the Indian philosopher's name as Viṣṇuśarman. See Edg, II, p.247; By, I, p.32; KF, p.271; Gui, p.21; Ch, p.38; Az, p.289. (f.20b/9)

dānāyān In the MS the word was written رانان , but was corrected in lighter ink (probably by the same hand) to رانايان . (f.20b/9)

- 41/14 Sanzaba Many versions of Kalīla wa-Dimna give the bull's name in this form, while others write Satraba. This is an easy confusion as the dots of the ن and the ; are often so closely placed that the letters could appear as ت and ر . The former reading is closer to the Sanscrit Samjīvakā, which Edgerton translates as 'enlivener'. The form Sanzaba is found in Syl, Az, NasM; Satraba in Ch, Sad, NasK, NasA, Kas. See By, II, p.7; Edg, II, p.275; KF, p.274. (f.21a/17)
- Nandaba Because the Ms writes نندبه , the form Nandaba has been arbitrarily chosen because it is closer

to the Sanscrit Nandaka (meaning 'rejoicer' according to Edgerton) and appears in Az and NasM. Versions writing Bandaba include Syl, Ch, Sad, NasK and NasA. Kas gives Mandaba. (f.21a/17)

41/23 āsā'is The MS writes اسائيس . (f.21b/5)

41/29 dā'ira The MS writes دائره . (f.21b/9)

42/4 A later hand has written با همديگر دوست و برادر بوزند in the margin, indicating that the phrase should be inserted between budand and va har. While the original reading of the MS is awkward, it is doubtful that al-Bohari ever intended such an addition, for within the next three lines ha gives the jackals' names and states their relationship. (f.21b/11-12)

42/5 Dimna This form of the name, occurring in all the Islamic versions, is derived from the Sanscrit Damnaka, which Edgerton translates as 'victor'. See: By, II, p.8; Edg, II, p.276; KF, p.270. (f.21b/12)

42/7 Kalīla All Islamic versions give this reading, which is based upon the Sanscrit Karataka. Benfy translates this as Krähe, but Edgerton notes that its meaning is unclear. See: By, II, p.8; Edg, II, p.276; KF, p.270. (f.21b/14)

42/22 The story of the Ape and the Wedge occurs in all Islamic versions; it is designated [G6] in the cross-index. (f.22a/2)

42/27 hāya Several versions (Sad, Kna, KF) have bowdlerized this tale and substituted 'tail' for hāya which is the correct translation of the Sanscrit. The Persian versions are faithful to the original. (f.22a/6)

- 43/9 dijam The MS writes three dots over the letter j.  
(f.22a/13)
- 43/14 dom The MS writes the zamma. (f.22a/16)
- 43/17 'ariṣ The MS is smudged. (f.22a/18)
- 43/18 sahti The MS is smudged. (f.22a/19)
- 43/25 momayyizan (?) The MS appears to read either  
مميزان or هميزان here. As momayyiz means 'a discerner',  
'an examiner' (St) or 'a scrutinizer' (Rh), one would  
like to think that the word is a contraction of ham-  
mizan, but the text almost certainly is the former.  
(f.22b/4)
- 43/26 kanā'at konad-o-riṣa dihad The MS writes a zamma  
above the vav. (f.22b/5)
- 45/6 tak-i angur The MS originally read تاك انگور but  
was amended by a later hand to تلك انگور. A compromise  
between the two versions seems most logical. (f.23a/5)
- 45/7 ba-tari The MS is ambiguous as it writes either  
ستری or ستری. As tari means 'freshness' or 'moisture'  
(St), ba-tari seems the best reading. (f.23a/6)
- 45/14 cahd The MS originally read جهل, but a later hand  
has put a line through this and written جهد, which is  
more appropriate. (f.23a/10)
- 45/27 bay-ārad The MS is smudged. (f.23a/17)
- 46/22 gorg The MS writes گُرك. (f.23b/13)
- 52/13 va nīz momkin gardad The MS writes this clause  
twice. (f.26a/16)
- 53/25 farmūdast The MS frequently omits the final ha in  
such verb forms. (f.26b/17)
- 55/9 rāhib-rā The MS writes rāhibr-rā. (f.27b/2)

- 55/17 nazzī (?) The MS writes نَزِّي . (f.27b/6)
- 55/22 na-gosād The MS writes نَبْكَشَاد . (f.27b/9)
- 60/8 sūd-o-ziyān The MS originally read sū ziyān, but a later hand has inserted a zāl. (f.29b/2)
- 60/11 har çand The MS is smudged. (f.29b/3)
- 61/6 kahtī The MS misspells it حَقْطِي . (f.29b/19)
- 62/21 sangpostī Four Arabic texts (Az, Syl, Sad and Mus) call the animal 'olcūm - which al-Boḥārī also names him on 64/16 (f.31a/9) and later. (Ch has mukkā?, a bird resembling a heron.) 'Olcūm obviously was not in al-Boḥārī's vocabulary and has perplexed lexicographers as well; St is representative of these, defining the word as 'a robust, choice camel; a male frog;...a tike; an ostrich; a mountain goat; an old bull; a drake; a certain white bird.' Naṣrollāh avoids the entire matter by calling the creature a māhī-h<sup>v</sup>ār. (f.30b/4)
- 66/21 tā rūzī The MS writes this twice, crossing out the repeat. (f.32a/3)
- 67/27 goft The MS reads goftand. (f.32a/5)
- 71/20 امر The MS reads thus, although a later hand has inserted an alif to yield اَمْراد . (f.33b/18)
- 73/2 dar bihtar kārī The MS has a second dar inserted above and after the first. (f.34b/4)
- 74/26 ṣīr The MS reads Dimna. (f.35a/12)
- 76/11 ba-dast The MS reads ba-dast. (f.35b/17)
- 76/18 çizī The MS is smudged. (f.36a/2)
- 79/7 pīs The MS writes پِش . (f.37a/9)
- 80/5 h<sup>v</sup>ad-rā The MS writes h<sup>v</sup>ad-r and a later hand has added an alif. (f.37b/7)



- 82/1 tīsirat (?) Probably a mistaken variant of ta'sirat,  
the singular of which occurs in line ten of the same  
page. (f.38b/4)
- 82/13 va mabāda The MS reads here: Va mabāda az va mabāda  
umid.... This is probably a scribal error. (f.38b/11)
- 83/10 digar The MS occasionally writes the shorter form  
of this word. (f.39a/8)
- 84/24 dāram The MS omits the alif. (f.39b/10)
- 87/6 va mā-ra ba morād The MS mistakenly writes this  
twice. (f.40b/5-6)
- 88/18 man This change of subject is in the MS. (f.41a/5)
- 92/25 man...va...yār-i man The change of subject is in  
the MS. (f.42b/4)
- 95/9 ba-dū The use of the zāl is technically wrong as the  
letter is the first in the root. (f.43a/19)
- 95/23 na-gū'i The negative here seems wrong. (f.43b/4)
- 98/16 ba-tark The MS writes ترک . (f.44b/13)
- 98/29 nahangān dārand It is thus in the MS. (f.45a/1)
- 99/18 sab-tā Later in this passage the MS writes sab-tab.  
(f.45a/10) Other versions of the text emphasize that  
the weather was chilly.
- 104/3 pidar The MS writes pisar. (f.46b/10)
- 105/13 Kalila The MS writes Dimna. (f.47a/11)

CH

I

Kāla Dimnatu:

Za'amū anna asadan kāna fī arḍin kaṭīrati 'l-mā'i  
wa-'l-ḥiṣbi

wa-kāna mā bi-tilka 'l-bilādi mina 'l-waḥṣi fī sa'ati mina  
'l-mā'i wa-'l-mar'ā.

AZ

I

Kāla Dimnatu:

Za'amū anna asadan kāna fī arḍin muḥṣibatīn kaṭīrati  
'l-wuḥṣi wa-'l-mā'i wa-'l-mar'ā.

II

Illā anna ḡālika lam yakun yanfa'u-hā min ḥauḍi 'l-asad.

Fa-'tamarat tilka 'l-wuḥṣu fa-'ctama'at ila 'l-asadi,

fa-ḡulna la-hu:

Inna-ka lā tuṣīdu 'd-dābbata min-nā fī yawmin illā fī  
ta'abin wa-naṣabin.

Wa-innā ḡad ra'aynā ra'yan la-nā wa-la-ka fī-hi rāḡatun

fa-in anta ammanta-nā fa-lam tuḡif-nā.

Ca'lnā la-ka fī kulli yawmin dābbatan nursilu bi-hā ilay-ka  
'inda ḡadā'ik.

II

Wa-kāna lā yanfa'uhunna mā hunna fī-hi min ḥauḍi-hinna mina  
'l-asad.

Fa-'tamarna fī-mā bayna-hunna, wa-atayna-hu,

fa-ḡulna la-hu:

Inna-ka lā tuṣību min-na 'd-dābbata illā ba'd ta'abin  
wa-naṣabin,

wa-ḡad ictima'nā 'alā amrin la-nā wa-la-ka fī-hi rāḡatun,

in anta ammanta-nā fa-lam tuḡif-nā.

Fa-ḡāla: Anā fa'il.

Fa-ḡulna: Nursilu ilay-ka li-ḡadā'ika kulla yawmin  
dābbatan min-nā.

III

Fa-raḡiya 'l-asadu bi-ḡālika

wa-ḡālaḡa-hum 'alay-hi wa-ḡarrarna ḡālika la-hu.

III

Fa-raḡiya bi-ḡālika

wa-ḡālaḡahunna 'alay-hi, wa-wafā la-hunna bi-mā a'tāhunna  
min nafsihi wa-wafayna la-hu bi-hi.

## I

Dimna goft kî:

Avarda-and dar hikâyât kî şîrî bûda-ast dar bîşa-yi  
 hûş-o-heram va âbûdân-i âb-ravân, va sâya-yi dirâhtân-o-  
 şafir-i morşân, va 'alafî bî-andâza-vo-farâvân,

va vahşî-yi bisyâr,

## I

[Dimna] goft:

Avarda-and ki dar margzârî ki nasîm-i ân, bû-yi bihişt-râ  
 mo'aşşar karda bûd,

va 'aks-i ân, rû-yi falak-râ monauvar gardânîda,

az har şâhî hazar sitâra tâbân,  
 va dar har sitâra hazâr sipîhr hayrân.

Yudâhîku'ş-şamsa min-hâ kawkabun şarîkun  
mu'azzarun bi-'amîmi 'n-nabti muktahilun.

Şahâb, gû'î, yâkût riht bar minâ  
 Nasîm, gû'î, şingarî biht bar zangar  
 Boşar-i qaşm-i havâ va bahûr-i rû-yi zamîn  
 Zi-qaşm-i dâya-yi bâğ ast o rû-yi baçça-yi hâr.

Vohûş-i bisyâr bûd, kî hama ba-sabab-i şîrâ-ş<sup>v</sup>ar-o-âb, dar  
 hişb-o-râhat bûdand.

## II

va vaqt-o-'ayş-i şîr hûş bûd, amma vohûş-i ân câygâh-râ az  
 ân ni'mat-o-hûşî hiç sûdî na-bûd, kî az bîm-i şîr çarîdan-  
 o-çamîdan momkin na-mî-gaşt.

Ân dad-o-dâm comla gird âmadand va tadbîrî ba-kardand va  
 makrî ba-sâhtand va ba-yak cam' ittîfâk kardand, va piş-i  
 şîr âmadand, va bar vay ganâ h<sup>v</sup>ânand va goftand:

Mâ-râ dar in bîşa bûdan az bîm-i tû momkin nîst. va tû-râ  
 nîz har vaqtî kî kûti-vo-naşçîrî ba-kâr mî-bâyad, basî ranc  
 ba-tû rasad tâ ba-dast âvarî.

Va mâ dar in kâr andîşa'î karda-îm va tadbîrî sahta-îm

kî agar tû rîzâ dihi har dû cānib-râ nikû bovad.

[Şîr] goft: Ân çî-st?

Goftand: Mâ har yakî az in acnâs-i vohûş

har rûzî ba-naubat naşçîrî piş-i tû ârîm ba-dân vaqt kî  
 hingâm-i qaşt-i tû bâğad bî-ranc-o-ta'ab, ba-şarî kî tû  
 mâ-râ ayman gardānî va 'ahdî ba-konî kî mâ-râ şadr na-konî.

## II

Lâkin ba-mocâvarat-i şîr, ân hama monağğâş bûd.

Rûzî farâham âmadand va comla nazdik-i şîr raftand va  
 goftand:

Tû har rûz pas az ranc-i bisyâr-o-maşakkat-i farâvân az mâ  
 yakî şikâr mî-tavân şikast, va mâ payvasta dar balâ, va tû  
 dar tagâpû'î-vo-şalab.

Aknûn çîzî andîşîda-îm ki torâ dar ân farâgat va mâ-râ  
 amn-o-râhat bâğad.

Agar ta'arroz-i h<sup>v</sup>iş az mâ za'il konî,

har rûz movažğaf yakî şikârî piş-i malik firistîm.

## III

Şîr 'ahd kard va bar in şarţ-o-paymân az ham bûz gaştand.

Va har rûz bar mucab-i paymân-o-kaul-i h<sup>v</sup>iş

## III

Şîr ba-dân rîzâ dâd.

Va moddatî bar an bar âmad.

Dimna goft:

Avarda-and ki dar havāli-yi Baḡdād marḡzārī būd, ki nasīm-i  
 ān, bū-yi bihişt-rā mo'aṭṭar sāḡti,

va 'aks-i riyāḡin-aş dīda-yi falak-rā monauvar gardānīdī.

Az har şāḡ-i gol-'izār-aş hazār sitāra tābān  
 va dar ḡosn-i har yak az ān sitāragān noh falak sar-gardān.

Nazm

Ravān āb dar sabza-yi āb-ḡ<sup>v</sup>ord  
 ḡū sīmāb dar paykar-i lācvard  
 Riyāḡin damīda bar aṭrāf-i cū'i  
 Şabā 'itr-bīz o havā moşk-būy.

Va dar ān marḡzār voḡūş-i bisyār būdand,

va ba-vşā-yi ḡūbī-yi havā, va dīlpazīrī-yi fażā, va  
 kaşrat-i āb, va vos'at-i ni'mat, rūzgār dar ḡūşī-vo-rafāhat  
 mī-gozarānīdand.

## II

Va dar ān nazdīkī şīrī-yi tond-ḡū'i balā-cū'i būd, ki har  
 rūz liḡā-yi nā-mobāarak ba-dān bī-ḡāragān nomūdi va 'ayş-o-  
 zindigānī bar işān monaḡḡaş gardānīdī.

Rūzī ittīfāḡ nomūda ba-nazdīk-i şīr raftand va iḡḡār-i  
 'obūdiyat-o-inḡiyād karda, goftand:

Ay Malik, mā ra'iyat-o-ḡaşam-i tū-yīm, va tū har rūz pas az  
 ranc-i farāvān-o-maḡakḡat-i bī-pāyān az mā yakī şīkār  
 tavānī kard yā na, va mā payvasta az nahīb-i tū dar  
 kaş-ā-kaş balā'im va tū nīz dar cost-o-cū-yi mā ba-takāpū-yi  
 'anā.

Aknūn andīşa karda-im ki torā sabab-i farāḡat gardad va  
 mā-rā mūcab-i amn-o-rāḡat.

Agar ḡonānḡi nota'arriḡ-i mā na-şavī va har rūz vaḡt-i  
 mā-rā parişān na-sāzī,

mā şīkārī ba-hingām-i ḡāḡt vaḡifa-yi maṭbaḡ-i malik  
 mī-firistīm, va taḡḡīrī dar adā-yi ān ravā na-mī-dārim.

## III

Şīr bar ān riḡā dād.

Va işān har rūz ḡor'a afkandī

Dimna goft:

Avarda-and ki dar nazdīkī-yi Baḡdād marḡzārī būd.

ḡūş-āb-o-havā dar ān zamīn ba-vāşā-yi dīl-pazīrī-yi havā  
 va bisyārī-yi āb va farāḡī-yi ni'mat, cānvar-i bisyārī  
 rūzgār dar ḡūşī mī-gozarānīdand.

## II

Va dar ān nazdīkī şīrī-yi tond-ḡū'i būd; ḡāḡ ḡāḡ rūy ba-dān  
 bī-ḡāragān nomūdi va 'ayş-o-zindigānī bar işān talḡ  
 gardānīdī.

Rūzī bozorgān-i işān farāḡam āmada, nazdīk-i şīr raftand va  
 bandagī-vo-farmān-bordārī-yi ḡ<sup>v</sup>ad-rā ba-zabān-i iḡlāş ḡāḡir  
 sāḡta, goftand ki:

Ay malik, mā ra'iyat-o-ḡaşam-i (tū-im); tū ham az ranc-i  
 farāvān az mā yakī-rā şīkār tavānī kard yā na, va mā payvasta  
 az nahīb-i tū dar kaşākaş-i (balā-im), va tū nīz  
 ba-cost-o-cū-yi mā va taḡāpūy mīḡnat ast.

Aknūn andīşa (karda-im) ki torā sabab-i farāḡat gardad va  
 mā-rā bā'is-i amn-o-rāḡat.

Agar ḡonānḡi har vaḡt mā-rā parişān na-sāzī va 'ahdī ki konī  
 bar ḡarār dārī

tā yak şīkārī ba-hingām-i ḡāḡt dar malāzamat-i tū āvarīm.

## III

Şīr bar ān rūzī ḡod.

Har rūz işān ḡor'a afkandī,

Dimna eyitdi:

Getürmüşlerdür kim bir arslan maqâm dutunmuş idi bir yazıda ve cemende kim anuñ gökçek koçuları uçmağı mu'aṭṭar kılmış idi,

ve anuñ 'aksı yer yüzün münevver eylemiş idi.

Her bir ağaç budağında hezâr-destân ırlar idi, ve biñ yıldız doğmuş idi, çiçeklerden tazelik ayyûka ağmış idi.

Şi'r

Şanayıduñ ki bulutlar yere yağdırdı yâkûti  
Bezedi şol ağaçları çiçekleri dağı oti.

Havâsı hûş, yeri yumşak, firāvân ni'met anda çok, müyesser eylemiş ol haq, dirliği kütü.

Pes geyikler ve canaverler kamusu anda otlaq ve suvat sebebi-yle geñlik ni'met içinde geçerlerdi.

Dimna eyitdi:

Aḥbarında gelmişdürki Bağdâd nevâhisinde bir merğzâr var idi ki ḥâki 'abir-ü-'anber gibi mu'aṭṭar ve nesimi tesnim-ü-kevşer gibi rûşperver;

'aks-i envâr-u-ezhârından feleküñ gözi kamaşmış, ve 'aded-i 'uyûn-u-enhârî ḥadd-ü-'add dan aşmış.

Gülzârınıñ her şâhanda hezâr sitâre tâbân, ve ol sitârelerin nazzâre sinde nûh felek ser-gerdân.

Megnevi

Kınârında cû-yı ferāvân revân  
Leṭâfetde simâba beñzer hemân  
Pür olmuş şükûf-ile aṭrâf-ı cû'î  
Şabâ 'iṭr biz ü havâ müşkbü'î

Vühûş-ı bisyar ve sibâ'-ı bî-şûmar ol merğzârda qarâr itmişlerdi,

ve leṭâfet-i havâ ve ṭarâvet-i fezâ ve keşret-i âb ve ni'met-i bî-ḥisâb sebebi-yle ol diyâra vaṭan ṭutmuşlardı.

Ammâ, ol arslan koçuluğı sebebinden ol ni'met bulara çâşnî vermezidi ve göñül ṭarlığından bir gün ḥâlî olmazlardı.

Arslan ve canaverler şûratı bu üzerine-dur ki yazıldı.

Bir gün dergendiler, arslanıñ ḳatına vardılar ve eyitdiler:

Sen her gün çok ranc-ile ve delim maşakkat-ile bizlerden birümüz avlarsın, ele getürürsın. Ve biz hemîşe senüñ belâñ içinde zahmet görürüz, ve sen hemîşe bizi avlamakda yelûb yortub emek dartarsın.

Bir nesne endîşe kılduq kim anuñile saña yelmek ve yortmaq emeginden ferâğat, ve bize iminlik ve râḫat ḥâşıl olur:

Eger zahmet bizden giderürseñ,

her gün kuşluk vaktında senüñ maṭbahûña bizlerden birümüz verbiyenüz kim ḡidâ eylesin, hiç avlamak zahmetiñ görmeyesin.

Ol nevâhîde bir şîr-i ḥûn-ḥ<sup>v</sup>âr var idi-ki dâ'im didâr-ı nâ-mübârek ol biçârelere şîkâr iderdi. Ve 'ayy-u-zendeğânilerin münaggaş idûb, her gün birisin ikisin şîkâr iderdi.

Bir gün ittifâk idûb cümlesi şîr ḳatına gitdiler

ve 'ubûdiyet-ü-inḳıyâd iḫâr idûb eyitdiler:

Biz melik-i sibâ'ıñ ḥademi ve ḥaşemi biz; her gün zahmet-i bisyar ve miḫnet-i bî-şûmarla bizden birisin şîkâr ide yâ itmeye; biz dâ'im anıñ bîminden keşâkeş-i belâ' biz, ol-dağı bizi cüstücû-ıyle tekâpü-yı 'anâdır.

Ḥâliyâ bir fikr eydik ki hem melike sebeb-i ḥuṣûr[-u-] ferâğat, hem bize müceb-i emn-u-râḫat ola.

Şöyle ki her gâh bize müte'arriṣ olmayub, her dem bizim vaktimiz perîşân itmeye,

her gün hingâm-ı çâştda maṭbah-ı melike bir şîkâr vaṭife gönderelim,

ve bu ḥidmetiñ edâ'sında taḳḳîr-ü-toḥvûn revâ görmiyelim.

Arslan bu ḳavla râzî oldu.

Canavarıñ şûratı budur.

Şîr bu ḳazâya rızâ verdi.

Pes bu 'ahdî muḳarrer ḳılub, her gün ḳur'a atarlardı

I

Olunur ki Bağdād nevāhisinde bir merʿzār-ı ferah-fezā da

vuhūş-ı bisyār-u-sibā'-yı bî-şümār tavaṭṭun-u-ḳarār  
itmışleridi.

I

Bağdād taraflarında güzel bir ormanı

II

Ol havālîde bir şîr-i gûn-ḡār varidi. Her gûn bunlardan  
birin şikār idince cümlesin cānından biraz iderdi.

'Akıbet bunlar ittifāḳla huzūr-ı şîre gelüb

'arā-ı 'ubūdiyyet-ü-inḳiyād idüb eyitdiler ki:

Ḳāliya biz fikr eydik hem size sebab-i huzūr-ı ferāḡat,  
hem bize bā'is-ı emn-ü-rāḡat ola.

Şöyle ki bize her gāh mülte'arriḡ olmayub her dem vaḡtımız  
perişān itmeyesin,

her gûn 'ala 's-seḡer maḡbaḡa bir şikār vaḡife gönderlim.

Bu ḡidmetiñ edā sında taḡṣi-ü-tehāvün revā görmiyelim.

II

arslanıñ birisi kendisine şayḡāḡ ittihāḡ ederek deründeki  
hayvānlardan her gûn bir ḡaçını ḡutar eklider. Ve faḡaḡ  
bunları ḡutancaya ḡadar diḡer bir ḡoḡlerini da ūrkūtüb  
rāḡatsız eyler idi.

Ḳayvānlar her gûn ḡelecāndan ise ḡazā ve ḡaderiñ ḡurbān  
olmasını iḡtizā ildiḡi bir dānesi bā ḡur'a ta'yin olarak  
arslana gönderilmeḡe ḡarār verdiler ki bu ḡālde diḡerleri  
rāḡat ḡalacakları der kār dir.

III

Şîr bu ḡazāya rızā verdi.

Pes bu 'ahdi muḡarrer bilüb, her gûn ḡur'a atlardı.

III

Arslan daḡi bu muḡaveleye rāzî olduğundan her gûn ḡur'a  
kime iḡābet eder ise arslana gönderilmek üzere bir zamān-ı  
rāḡat-u-huzūr ḡāḡıl olduğdan soḡra

CH

AZ

Tumma inna arnaban aṣṣabat-hā 'l-ḳur'at.

Fa-ḳālat la-hunna:

Inna antunna rafaḳtunna bī fī-mā lā yaḍurrukunna la-'allī an urīḥakunna mina 'l-asad.

Fa-ḳulna: Wa-mā 'llaḡī ta'muru bi-nā mina 'r-rifḳ bi-k?

Ḳālat: Ta'murna man yaṇṭaliḳu ma'ī wa-lā yatba'uni la-'allī inna ubṭī'u 'ala 'l-asadi ba'da 'l-ibṭā'i ḥattā yata'aḥḥara ḡadā'u-hu.

Ḳulna: Fa-la-ki ḡālik?

Tumma inna arnaban aṣṣabat-hā 'l-ḳur'at.

Fa-ḳālat la-hunna:

Ayyu ṣay'u yaḍurrukunna inna antunna rafaḳtunna bī fī-mā lā yaḍurrukunna wa-uriḥakunna mina 'l-asad?

Fa-ḳulna la-hā: Wa-mā ḡālik?

Fa-ḳālat: Ta'murna man yaḡhabu ma'ī allā yatba'u-nī la-'allī ubṭī'u 'ala 'l-asadi ḥattā yata'aḥḥara ḡadā'u-hu fa-yaḡḡaba li-ḡālik. Fa-fa'alna bi-hā mā ḡakarāt-hu.

IV

Fa-'nṭalaḳati 'l-arnabu muta'anniyatan ḥattā iḡā cāwazati 's-sā'atu 'llatī ḳāna 'l-asadu ya'kulu fī-hā.

Taḳaddamat ilay-hi tadibbu ruwaydan

wa-ḳad cā'a 'l-asadu ḥīna ibṭā'a 'an-hu ḡadā'u-hu fa-ḡaḡiba wa-ḳāma min marbiḏi-hi yatamaṣṣā,

ḥattā iḡā ra'a 'l-arnaba

IV

Wa-'nṭalaḳat motta'idatan ḥattā cā'ati 's-sā'atu 'llatī ḳāna yataḡaddā fī-hā.

Fa-cā'a 'l-asadu wa-ḡaḡiba wa-ḳāma 'an marbiḏi-hi yaṃṣī yaṇḡuru.

Fa-lammā ra'ā-hā



nağşiri piş-i şîr mî-bordand va dar biğa ayman-o-sâkin  
mî-gaştand

tâ rûzi kî naubat ba-ğargûşî rasîd.

Bay-âmad va ba-nazdik-i yârân-i h<sup>V</sup>îş goft:

Agar gomâ bâ man yâr bâgîd va âhistagi nomâ'id, man gomâ-râ  
az balâ-vo-miñnat-i in şîr bâz rahânam.

Goftand: Ân-ç az mâ dar-mî-h<sup>V</sup>âhî çî-st?

[ğargûş] goft: Imrûz kî naubat marâ-st, bar man hiç kas  
movakkal ma-konîd va zamân dihid tâ dir-tar ba-ravam. Tanhâ  
bovad kî ânç sikâlîda-am piş baram.

Goftand: Ravâ bovad.

Yak rûz qor'a bar ħargûş âmad.

Yârân-râ goft:

Agar dar firistâdan-i man tavaqqofi konîd, man gomâ-râ az  
caur-i in cabbûr-i ħûn-h<sup>V</sup>âr bâz rahânam.

Goftand: Moâşyaqatî nîst.

## IV

ğargûş sâ'atî ba-mûlîd tâ az ân vaqt kî har rûz çâşt-i şîr  
bordandî andakî dar gozaşt.

Va bar ħâst va âhista miy-âmad.

Çûn dar-raft, şîr-râ gorsnagî ħabra gaşt va ħîşm dar vay  
kâr kard.

Az cây dar âmad ħîşm-âlûda va rûy ba castan-o-cûş nihâd.

Nâgâh dar rân-aş ân ħargûş-i mofta'al piş âmad.

## IV

Û sâ'atî tavaqqof kard tâ vaqt-i çâşt-i şîr ba-gostaşt.

Pas âhista narm narm rûy ba-sû-yi şîr nihâd.

Şîr-râ diltang yâft, âtiş-i gorsnagî û-râ bar bâd-i tond  
nişânda-bûd,

va forûğ-i ħîşm dar ħarakât va sakanât-i vay padîd âmada,

çonânki âb-i dahân-i Û ħoşk âstâda bûd va nağş-i 'ahd-râ dar  
ħâk mî-cost.



va ba-nām-i har kodām az vohūš ki bar āmadī, ū-rā ba-vach-o-  
vaṣīfa nazd-i šīr firistādandī tā bar īn ḥāl moddatī  
ba-gozāšt.

Rūzī qor'a ba-nām-i ḥargūš bar āmad va zamāna ū-rā hadaf-i  
tīr-i balā sāht.

Yārān-rā goft:

Agar dar firistādan bā man mosāmehatī konīd, gomā-rā az  
caur-i īn cabbār bāz rahānam.

Goftand: Dar īn bāb hiç moṣāyaka nīst.

va nām-i har kodām cāndārī ki bar āmadī, ū-rā firistādandī.

Rūzī ba-nām-i ḥargūšī bar āmad.

Ḥargūš goft:

Agar dar firistādan bā man andak ta'ḥīr konīd, gomā-rā az  
sitam-i īn ḡūn-ḡ'ār bāz rahānam.

Ḡūn bar dāniš-i ū i 'timād dāštand, soḥan-i ū-rā qabūl  
kardand.

## IV

Ḥargūš sā'atī tavaḥḥof kard tā vaqt-i qāšt ba-gozāšt va  
qovvat-i sabo'i-yi šīr dar ḥarakat āmada, az ḥiṣm-i vocūd-aš  
dandān bar ham mī-sūd.

Ḥargūš narm narm ba-sūy-i ū raft,

va vay-rā ba-ḡāyat diltang yāft, ātiš-i gorsnagī ū-rā bar  
bād nišānda,

va forūḡ-i ḥiṣm dar ḥarakāt va sakanāt-i ū paydā āmada.

Bayt

Tanavvor-i šikam dom-ba-dom tāftan  
Moṣibat bovad rūz-i nā-tāftan.

Ḥargūš did ki šīr az ḡāyat-i ḡaḏab dam-i intikām bar zamīn  
mī-zanad va naqš-i 'ahd-rā ba-ārzū-yi dil mī-ḡalabad.

Āhista piš āmad va salām kard.

## IV

Tā vaqt-i mī'ād ba-gozāšt va ḡaḏabat-i šīr dar conbaš āmad,  
az ḥiṣm dandān bar ham mī-sūd.

Ba'd az zamān-i darāz, ḥargūš narm narm ba-sū-yi vay  
ba-raft.

Ū-rā bisyār tang-dil yāft, ātiš-i gorsnagī ū-rā bar bād  
nišānda,

va az 'ahd-šikani ḥiṣm-ālūd būd.

Ḥargūš āhista āhista piš āmad va az rū-yi niyāz salām kard.

Pes bir müddet bunun üzerine geçdi.

Bir gün kur'a ve nevbet tavşana geldi kim hünî çün melike vara.

Pes ol tavşan yârânlarına eyitdi:

Eger beni vermekde müsâmağa eylerseñüz ve biraz vakt sehl dutarsañuz, ben sizi işbu kân-yeyici, cân alıcı zâlimün cevrenden kurtaram.

Eyitdiler: Yavlağ hüş ola.

ve vuhûşdan kimî nâmina gelse bir sebil-ü-vâzife anı maıbağ-ı şîre irsâl iderlerdi tâ bu hâl üzere nice müddet geçdi.

İttifâk bir gün kur'a bir hargüş nâmina râst geldi ve zamâna anı hedef-i tîr-i belâ kıldı.

Beyt

Âsmân bar emânet ne-tevânest keşid  
Kur'a-yı kâr be-nâm-ı men divâne zadend.

Hargüş-ı pür hüş ser-i tahayyürî zânü-yı tefekküre koyub  
bir mıkdar-ı tedebbür itden soñra baş kaldırub,

vuhûşa eyitdi:

Eger beni irsâl itmekde fi'l-cümle tevaşşukfa mecâl veresiz  
bir fikr ildim galib budur ki anıñ sebile bu cebbâriñ  
pençe-yi cevrenden ve bu kâhharıñ şikence-yi kahrından  
cümleñiz halâş olasız.

Vuhûş minnetler eyldiler ve du'âlar idüb himmetler eyldiler.

## IV

Pes bir sâ'at eglendi tâ kim arslanüñ kuşluk hünî vaktı geçdi.

Andan aful aful arslana vardı.

Arslanüñ göñlin yavlağ tar buldu şöylekim: açlık odı anı  
tizlik yeline bindürmiş

ve kamık hışm yalını anuñ hareketinde belürmiş

şöylekim: ağzınüñ suyu akmış ve kavl sınağa yavuz dutmış.

## IV

Hargüş şol-kadır tevaşşukf eyldi ki vakt-ı câşt geçdi, şîriñ  
dîğ-i cû'î galeyân ve kuvvet-ı sebu'isi heyecân idüb, hışm-ı  
vuhûşdan ebr gibi cûş ve biber gibi hırûşa âğâz itdi; ve  
ıztırâbından gâh turub, gâh oturub, gazabından dendânın bir  
birine urub, şadâ-yi mehib ve gırv-ı bâ-nahibi gûş-ı gâv-ı  
zemîne ve sem'-i şîr-i gerdüna batdı.

Beyt

Olurdu zehresi çâk ol gırvı,  
İşitse küh kâfiñ nere dîvi.

Hargüş âheste âheste şîre karîb vardı.

Ba-gâyet dilteng bulub gördüki

âtiş-ı cû'î harmin şabrın bâda vermiş,

ve fûrûğ-ı hışmî tennur-ı sînesinden küre-yi esire ayırmış.

Beyt

Tenevvür-ı şikem düm-be-düm tâften  
Muşibet büved rûz-ı nâ-tâften.

Öâyat gazabından dem-i intakâmı zemîne urur, ve esâs-ı  
mîşâk-u-binâ-yı ittifâkı yakmağa turur.

Nerm nerm ilerü vardı hâzû'-u-huşû' iyle selâm verdi.

Vuḥūṣdan kimiñ nāmına gelse bir sebil-ü-vazife anı muṭbaḥ-ı  
şire irsāl iderlerdi bu hāl üzere nice müddet geçdi.

İttirāk bir gün kur'a bir ḥargūş nāmına rāst geldi.

Ḥargūş-ı pür-hūş eyitdi:

Beni irsālda bir mıkdar tevaḥḫufa ruḥṣat verersifiz re'y-ü-  
tedbir-iyle cümleñizi ol ḡıddārıñ şikence-yi ḳahrından  
ḥalāş ideyim.

Vuḥūş minnetler eyldiler.

nihāyet bir gün kur'a ṭavşana iḡābet ildi.

Cān ṭatlı olduğundan biḥāre ṭavşan kolaylıkla cāmını fedā  
idemiyerek

arkadaşlarına:

'Aḳlıma bir tedbir geliyor. Eger müvaffaḳ olabilir isem  
cümleñiz şu arslan belāsından ḳurtarmış olurum, diye

## IV

Ḥargūş şolḳadır tevaḥḫuf eyldiki vaḳt-ı mu'ayyen geçdi,

ba'dahu, nerm nerm şir ḳatına varub

## IV

arslanıñ ṭa'ām zamānını geḳikdirecek ḳadar te'eḫḫür ildi.

Tām arslanıñ acılığı derece-yi nihāyeye vararak

ḡaḫabından ḳuyruḡunu yerlere urmaḡa,

deḡsetli deḡsetli böḡürmeḡe bağlamışidi ki ṭavşan ca'lı bir  
ḫelecānlı ḫuḫūrına gelerek,

CH

V

kāla la-hā:

Min ayna ci'ti wa-ayna 'l-wahṣ?

Kālat:

Innī rasūlu 'l-wahṣi arsalna-nī ilay-ka ba-'aṭna ma'i bi-arnabin ilay-k.

Fa-lammā kuntu hāhunā qarīban min-ka 'staḥbal-nī asadun fa-aḥaḡa min-nī.

Wa-kāla:

Anā awā bi-hāḡihi 'l-arḡi wa-wahṣi-hā.

Fa-kultu la-hu: Inna hāḡihi ḡadā'a 'l-maliki arsalat bi-hā ilay-hi 'l-wahṣu tuḡḡibunna-hu.

Fa-ḡaḡḡiba wa-ṣatama-ka

fa-aḡbaltu musri'atan ilay-ka

li-'alama-ka amra-hu.

Fa-ḡaḡḡiba 'l-asāu wa-kāla:

Inṭaliḡi ma'i fa-ari-nī hāḡa 'l-asad.

A2

V

kāla:

Min ayna ci'ti? Wa-ayna 'l-wuḡūṣ?

Fa-kālat:

Min 'inda-hunna ci'tu wa-hunna qarīban wa-ḡad ba-'aṭna ma'i bi-arnabin.

Fa-lammā kuntu qarīban min-ka 'araḡa lī asadun fa-'ntaza'a-hā min-nī

fa-kultu:

Inna-hā ṭa'ānu 'l-maliki fa-lā taḡṣibunna-hu.

Fa-ṣatama-ka

wa-kāla:

Ana aḡaḡḡu bi-hāḡihi 'l-arḡi wa-mā fī-hā min-hi.

Fa-atayktu-ka

li-uḡbira-ka.

Fa-kāla:

Inṭaliḡi ma'i fa-arīni-hi.

Şîr az sar-i hişm ba-vay nigâh kard, kî:

Kocâ-and in hargûşân-o-dad-o-dâm-i bî-kaul-o-bî-'ahd?

Hargûş goft kî: Az mâ hiç bî-'ahdî-vo-bî-kaulî nay-âmad.

[Şîr] goft: Pas girâ çâst-i man dîr âvardîd?

[Hargûş] goft:

Man rasûl-am, az voşûş miy-âmadam va hargûşî-yi farbih-o-gozîda miy-âvardam.

Şîrî-yi sitanba-vo-gardan-kaş piş âmad va bar man sitam kard, va az man ba-sitad.

~~Man~~

Har çand kî goftam:

Ma-kon, kî in çâst-i pādşāh-i in bîşa-vo-bar-o-bûm ast,

kaul-i man na-ginîd, va hargûş az man ba-sitad,

va bar man cafâ' kard kî:

Tû çî zahra dārî kî coz man kasî digar-râ pādşāh h<sup>v</sup>ânî?

In cāygāh ba-man sazāvār-tar va pādşāhî-râ man şâyista-tar az ân kî digarî, va cafâ-yi man âsân bovad.

Çûn zabân ba-şāh farāz kard va nâ-hamvārî goftan girift,

taqat na-dāştam.

Pîş-i tû şitâftam va û-râ bar cāy ba-gozâştam.

Şîr-râ dard-i gorsnagî va aḡāliş-i hargûş dar dil kār kard. Hişm-âlûd az cāy dar âmad

va goft kî:

Kî-râ zahra-vo-bāzî ân bāşad kî ba-man in bāzî konad va dar daulat-i man dast-darāzî konad?

Hîn, ba-şitāb va piş az ân kî ba-ravad, ma-râ bar sar-i û bar.

Hargûş-râ ba-dîd, âvâz dâd kî:

Az kocâ mi-â'î, va hâl-i voşûş çî-st?

Goft:

Dar şoḡbat-i man hargûşî firistāda bûdand,

dar rāh şîrî az man ba-sitad.

Man goftam:

In çâst-i malik ast.

Iltilfât na-nomûd

va cafâ-hâ rānd va goft:

In şikārgāh va çayd-i ân ba-man aulâtar, kî kovvat-o-şaukat-i man ziyâdat ast.

Man ba-şitâftam

tâ malik-râ ḡabar konam.

Şîr ba-hāst

va goft:

û-râ ba-man nomâ'î.

Şîr porsîd ki:

Az kocâ 'î, va hâl-i voşûş çî-st?

Goft:

Îşân ba-dastûr-i moqarrarî hargûşî dar şohbat-i man firistâda bûdand,

va ba-ittifâq 'azîmat-i molâzumat dâştam.

Şîrî dar in râh ba-mâ rasîd va û-râ ba-sitad.

Çandânki mobâlağat kardîm ki:

Gizâ-yî malik-i voşûş va vaşîfa-yî îşân ast,

ba-soğan-i man iltifât na-nomûda

va goft:

In şikârgâh-i man-ast va şayd-i ân ba-man mî-rasad.

Mişra'

Na-şinîda-î magar tû ki har şîr va bîşa'î.

Ay malik, çandân lâf-o-gizâf dar miyân âvarda, kovvat-o-şaukat-i h<sup>v</sup>ad şarh dâd ki

man bî-tâkât şodam.

Az piş-i vay farâr karda ba-sitâftam

tâ şûrat-i hâl ma'rûz-i ra'y-i monîr gardânam.

Şîr-i gorsna-râ hamîyat-i câhiliyat dar hârakat âmada,

goft:

Naẓm

Man ân-am ki dar şîva-yî ta'n-o-şarb

Ba-şîrân dar âmûzam âdâb-i harb

Kodâmîn hajîr in dîlîrî konad

Ki sar panca bar şayd-i man afkanad.

Pas goft:

Ay hargûş, tavânî ki û-râ ba-man nomâ'î tã dâd-i dil-i tû az û ba-sitânam, va intikâm-i h<sup>v</sup>ad nîz hâşil konam.

Hargûş goft:

Çirâ na-tavânam? Va û ba nisbat-i malik anvâ'-i soğanâr-i bî-adabâna goft,

va agar tavânastamî

kâsa-yî sar-i û-râ âb-h<sup>v</sup>ord-i dadân-i şahrâ şâydamî.

Şîr porsîd:

Az kocâ mî-'î, va hâl-i bomorgân-i in bîşa çî-st, va hilâf-i 'ahd barâ-yî çî kardand?

Goft:

Ay malik, îşân bar 'ahd-i h<sup>v</sup>ad bar qarâr-and, va ba-dastûr-i moqarrarî hargûşî ba-ham-râhî-yî man firistâda bûdand.

H<sup>v</sup>astam ki ba-malâzamat ba-rasânam, va man ham ba-âstân-bûsî miy-âmadîm.

Nâgâh şîrî dar râh ba-mâ dar rasîd va ân-râ az man kaşîda girift.

Va çandânki kûşîş kardam va goftam ki:

In-râ barâ-yî malik mî-baram,

soğan-i man gûş na-kard

va goft ki:

In şikârgâh-i man-ast, va man farmân-ravây-i in bîşa,

va çandân lâf-o-gizâf dar miyân âvard ki nazdîk bûd marâ ham ba-gîrad.

Man az-û girihta ba-dargâh-i malik âmadam

tâ şûrat-i hâl 'arz konam.

Şîr-i gorsna-râ şayrat dar conbaş âmad

va goft:

Ay hargûş, tavânî ki û-râ ba-man nomâ'î tã dâd-i dil-i tû ba-sitânam, va intikâm-i h<sup>v</sup>ad ba-kaşam.

Goft:

Çirâ na-tavânam nomûd? Va man câ-yî û-râ motahâşşin karda âmada-am; çûn nisbat ba-malik bî-adabâna gofta,

Agar tavânastamî

kâsa-yî sar-i û-râ pâra pâra şâydamî.

Ammâ omîd-vâr-am ki û-râ ba-morâd-i h<sup>v</sup>ad ba-çang-i tû niham.

Pes tavşanı ırakdan gördü, kıçardı kim:

Ƒandan gelürsin, ve geyiklerüñ hālı nedir?

Arslan ve tavşan güratı

Tavşan eyitdi:

Benümile bir tavşan veribimişlerdi,

yolda bir arslan gücile aldı.

Eyitdüm kim:

Melik gıgāsın almağıl!

Sözüm işitmedi,

çok cefā eyledi ve eyitdi:

Bu benüm avum yeridur, ve bunu almağa ben hākluyen kim  
benüm kuvvatum ve he(y)betüm artuğdur.

Ve ben ivdüm, oş geldüm

melike haber etmege.

Pes arslan duru geldi

ve eyitdi:

Gel, anı baña göster!

Şir eyitdi:

Ne tuğdan gelürsin, ve hāl-ı vuğuşdan ne bilürsin?

Ƒargüş eyitdi:

'Ahd-ı sâbâk üzere ben bende-iyle maṭbah-ı 'amireye bir  
Ƒargüş irsâl itmişlerdi;

anıñla bile 'azîmet-ı mülâzemet itmiş-ken

ittifâk fülân bişede bir şir-i şerer karşı gelüb, anı  
elimden aldı.

Her çend feryâd eyledum ki:

Bu Ƒargüş gıdâ-yi melik-i vuğuşdur, kaç'an dıñlemedi

ve aşlen iltifât eylemedi.

Ve hışm-ı tanâm-la şetm-ü-düğnâm-u-fuğş-ı kelâma başılyub  
eyitdi:

Ey güm, v-ey hayşüm-ı meysûmı râyiha ider iken maḥrûm  
bilmezim misin ki, bu bişe benüm şikârgâhum ve şaydi  
vağife-yi dergâhum dur.

Mışra'

Ne-şinide'i meger tû ki her şir-ü-bişe'i.

Ey melik, ol kadar lâf-u-gizâf idub kuvvat-u-şevket 'arâ  
ildi ki olmaz, ve melike iṭâle-yi lisân idüb herze-vü-  
hezeyân soyledi ki

ben medhüş oldum.

'Akıbet ofıundan kaçub 'ala't-ta'cîl geldim

tâ şüret-i hāl ma'rûz-ı re'y-i 'ālî kılım.

Şir çün Ƒargüşdan bu haberi güş itdi, derün-ı dilinden  
'urûk-ı himyeti nâbız-u-'aş demâğında div sebu'iyeti bâ'iz  
olub eyitdi:

Megnevi

Men ānam ki der şive-yi ta'n-u-şarb  
Be-şirân der āmûzam ādâb-ı şarb  
Küdâmîn hezârân dilirî küned  
Ki ser pence ber şayd-ı man efkened.

Pes eyitdi:

Ey Ƒargüş, cā'iz midir ki anı baña gösteresin tâ senif  
dādınñ nice oldurum, ve benim intikāmıñ nice hâşıl kıldurum  
göresin.

Ƒargüş eyitdi:

eyitdi:

Vuhûş 'ahd-ı sâbiķ Uzere ben bende-iyle muḥbaḥ-ı 'âmireye  
bir ḥargûş irdâil itmîşleridi.

Anıfıla bile 'azîmete mülâzemet itmîşken

ittifâķ fûlân bîşede bir şîr-i şerer ḥargû gelüb, anı  
elimden aldı.

Her çand feryâd eyldim

aşlen iltifât eylmedi.

Ve size iḥâle-yi lisân herze-ü-hezeyân söyledi.

'Akîbet elinden kaçub 'ala 't-tacîl şûret-i aḥvâl ı'lâma  
geldim.

Şîr çün ḥargûşdan bu ḥaberi gûş itdi, ḡazaba gelüb

eyitdi ki:

Tîz, anı göster ki ḥaḳķından gelim.

Sultânım! Bu g'ün ḡur'a benim cinsinden bir tavşana iḡâbot  
edirek, anı ḥuḡûrunuza getiriyor iken

yolda bir kuyu başında diğ̈er bir arslan râst geldim.  
Ḳismetîñizi ḡaşb itmek istedi.

Her ne ḡadar bunuñ sultân-ı behâyim olan gât-ı 'âlfîñiz  
maḡşûş olduḡunu aḡlatdım ise de

sizden ḡorḡub da vaz geḡmek şöyle ḡursun, bi'l-'aks ḥaḳķ-ı  
'âlinizde pek fena şûretde sôḡub şaymaḡa başladı.

Şadaḡatım ḡasbi-yle o ḡadar kızdım ki iḡtidârım olsa  
ḡırḡlaḡına ḡoparub ḡanını emecek idim, dedi.

Arslan bu sözleri iḡitince ḡazabı bir ḡat daha mûştedd  
olarâķ:

O edebsiziñ nerede olduḡunu baña göster ki oña ḡaddini  
bildereyim, dedi.



## VI

Fa-'nṭalakāt bi-'l-asadi

ilā cubbin qī mā'in ṣāfin 'amīḳin.

Fa-ḳālat:

Hāḡa makānu 'l-asadi

wa-anā afraḡu illā an taḡammala-nī fī ḥiḡni-ka fa-lā  
aḡāfu-hu ḡattā urīka-hu.

Fa-'ḡtaḡana-hā 'l-asadu

wa-ḡaddamat-hu ila 'l-mā'i 'ḡ-ṣāfi fa-ḡālat la-hu:

Hāḡa 'l-asadu wa-hāḡihi 'l-arnab.

Fa-waḡa'a 'l-arnaba wa-waḡaba li-ḡitāli-hi fi-'l-cubb.

Wa-aflatta 'l-arnab.

## VI

Fa-'nṭalakāt bi-hi

ilā cubbin ṣāfi 'l-mā'i.

Fa-ḳālat:

Hāḡa makānu-hu wa-huwa fī-hi

wa-anā afraḡu min-hu fa-iḡmil-nī fī sadri-ka.

Fa-ḡamala-hā fī ṣadri-hi wa-naḡara fi 'l-cubbi fa-iḡā huwa  
bi-dilli-hā wa-dilli-hi.

Fa-waḡa'a 'l-arnaba min ṣadri-hi wa-waḡaba li-ḡitāli  
al-asadu fi 'l-cubbi wa-ḡalabi-hi fa-ḡarika.

Wa-'nfalatat min-hi 'l-arnabu wa-raca 'at ilā sā'iri  
'l-wuḡḡi fa-a'lamat-hunna bi-ḡabari-hi.

## VI

Ĥargūš dar ĥāl ravāna kard va dar piš istād  
 va šir-rā bar sar-i ĥāhī bord por āb-i ĥāfi-yi istāda,  
 va goft:  
 In cāygāh-i ān šir ast ki ĥargūš az man ba-sitad.  
 Šir bay-āmad va bar sar-i cāygāh ba-istād,  
 širi va ĥargūši-rā dar āb dīd.  
 Dānast ki šūrat-i ū-st va ān-i in ĥargūš-i mofta'al.  
 Ahang-i šūrat kard va dar ĥāh oftād.  
 Va ĥargūš bāz gašt ayman šoda va voḥūš-rā ayman-karda.

## VI

Ĥargūš piš istād  
 va ū-rā ba-sar-i ĥāhī-yi bozorg bord  
 ki šafāy-i ān ĥūn āyina'i šakk-o-yākin-i šūrat-hā ba-nomūdi  
 va auṣaf-i ĥihra-yi har yak bar šomordi.  
Cumūmun kad tanimmun 'ala 'l-kaḡāti  
Wa-yudhira šafā-hā sirra 'l-ḡaṣārati.  
 Va goft:  
 Dar in ĥāh ast,  
 va man az vay mī-tarsam.  
 Agar malik ma-rā dar bar gīrad, ū-rā nomāyam.  
 Šir ū-rā dar bar girift va ba-ĥāh firū nigarist.  
 Ĥayāl-i ĥ<sup>V</sup>ad va az ān-i ĥargūš ba-dīd; ū-rā ba-gozāšt  
 va ĥ<sup>V</sup>ad-rā dar ĥāh afgand  
 va ḡauṭi ĥ<sup>V</sup>ord va nafs-i ĥūn-ĥ<sup>V</sup>ār-o-cān-i mordar ba-malik  
 sipard.  
 Ĥargūš ba-salūmat bāz raft  
 va voḥūš az šūrat-i ĥāl-o-kayfiyat-i kār-i šir porsidand.  
 Goft: Ū-rā ḡauṭi dādam ki ĥūn ganc-i ḡārūn ḡāk ĥ<sup>V</sup>ord ḡod.  
 Hama bar markeb-i ḡadrānaḡi sovār gaštand  
 va dar marḡuār-i ann-o-rāḡat cavalāni nomūdand  
 va in bayt-rā virad sāḡtand:  
Wa'llāh lam aḡmat bi-ki fa-'l-kullu rahnun li-'l-mamāti  
Lākinna min ḡibi'l-hayāti an tarī mauta 'l-'udāti.

## Bayt

Ammā zi-ḥodā omīd-var-am k-ū-rā  
Dar ʕang-i tū bīnam ba-morād-i dil-i ḥ<sup>v</sup>iṣ.

## VI

Īn ba-goft va dar piṣ īstād. Šīr-i sāda-dil ba-farīb-i ū  
gīrra ṣod va dar 'aḵb ravān ṣod.

Ḥargūš šīr-rā bar sar-i ʕāhī-yi bozorg āvard

ki āb-aṣ ba-ṣafā ʕūn āyina-yi ʕīn šūrat-hā-rā dorost nomūdī  
va bī-ḥaṭā šifat-i ḥilya-vo-ʕihra-yi har kas az nāzirān-rā  
bar-ṣomordī.

Dar vay kasī nigāh na-kardī ki naḵṣ-i ḥ<sup>v</sup>iṣ  
Az ṣafā ʕamīr-i monīr-aṣ na-ḥ<sup>v</sup>āndī.

Goft:

Ay malik, ḥaṣm-i nā-ba-kār dar īn ʕāh ast

va man az mahābat-i ū mī-tarsam.

Agar marā malik dar bar gīrad, ḥaṣm-rā ba-vay nomāyam.

Šīr ū-rā dar bar girifta, ba-ʕāh firū nigarīst;

šūrat-i ḥ<sup>v</sup>ad-o-ḥargūš dar āb dīd,

pindāšt ki hamān šīr ast va ḥargūš-i ki vaṣīfa-yi ū būda,  
dar bar kašīda;

Ū-rā ba-ḡozāšt va ḥ<sup>v</sup>ad-rā dar ʕāh afkand.

Va ba-dū-si ʕauṭa nafs-i ḥūn-ḥ<sup>v</sup>ār-rā ba zabāna-yi dūzah  
sipard.

Va ḥargūš ba-salāmat bar-ḡaṣta voḥūš-rā az kayfiyat-i ḥūl  
āḡāhī dād

va iṣān ba-vaṣāyif šokr-ollāhī ʕiyām nomūda

dar riyāz-i amn-o-salāmat mī-ʕarīdand,

va īn bayt takrār mī-kardand:

## Bayt

Yakī ʕarbat-i āb az pa-yi bad-siḡāl  
Bovad ḥūṣ-tar az 'omr-i haftād sāl.

Va dar īrād-i īn-maḡal ma'lūm ṣod ki ḥaṣm har ʕand ḡavī  
būḡad, dar maḡal-i ʕaflāt bar ū bast tavūn gūft.

## VI

Īn ba-goft va dar piṣ īstād. Šīr-i sāda-dil ba-farīb-i vay  
az rāh rafta, pas-i ū ravān ṣod.

Ḥargūš šīr-rā bar sar-i ʕāhī-yi bozorg āvard

ki dar āb-aṣ az bisyārī-yi ṣafā ʕūn āyina-yi Ḥalabī  
šūrat-hā dorost nomūdī

va bī-ḥaṭā yak yak šifat-i ʕihra-yi bīnandagān bar ṣomordī.

Ḥargūš goft:

Ay malik, doṣman-i tabāh-kār dar īn ʕāh ast

va man az ṣakl-i haulnāk-i ū mī-tarsam.

Agar malik marā dar bar gīrad ū-rā ba-nomāyam.

Šīr ū-rā dar bar girifta, ba-ʕāh firū nigarīst;

šūrat-i ḥ<sup>v</sup>ad-o-ḥargūš-rā dar āb dīd,

pindāšt ki hamān šīr ast ki rūzī ū-rā kašīda girifta-ast.

Ḥargūš-rā ba-ḡozāšt va ḥ<sup>v</sup>ad-rā dar ʕāh andāšt.

Ba-dū-si ʕauṭa raḥt-i hastī bar bast.

Va ḥargūš ba-salāmat bāz ḡaṣta āmada va bozorgān-i cānvar-rā  
az sar-ḡozāšt āḡāhī kard va ʕaṣn-i 'ām kard.

Va ḥ<sup>v</sup>ord-o-bozorg ṣādī-hā kardand va šokr-i Ilāhī ba-cā  
āvardand.

Niçin cū'iz olmaya? Ol melik hâkında envâ'-yı tûrrehat  
söyledi ve bî-edebâna kelimât eyitdi,

ben kâdir olsam anıñ hûnun şarâb-ı nâb gibi içerdim,

ve kâse-yi serin melikîñ kemter seknîñ sefâl âbı<sup>V</sup>ürth  
iderdim,

anmâ,

Beyt

Hûdâdan ömrüm kim nâgehânî  
Mürâdınca görüm pençekte anı.

VI

Çavşan ilertü geldi,

arşları alub bir kuyu üzerine ilettdi

kim anuñ suyunuñ duruluğu göz bigi şâfiyidi ve şûratlar  
anuñ içinde rûşen gözügürdi.

Şi'r

Kefu aydın rûşenidi ol kuyu  
Ağıdı tatlı-yidi anuñ suyu

Pes çavşan eyitdi:

Ol arşlar oşbu kuyudadır,

ve ben ardan korkarven.

Eger melik beni arşasına alursa, kim korkudan emîn olam,  
varam, ol düşmanı melike gösterem.

Arşlar ve kuyu ve çavşan şûratı

Pes arşlar anı omuzına götürdi, kuyu üzerine varub bakdı

gendünñ ve çavşanuñ hayâlin suda gördi

çavşanı arşasından bıraktı,

sekriyüb

ol suya düğdü,

bir kaç batdı ve çıktı, cânın melike ısmarledi.

Çavşan selâmet kurtulub döndü girü gitdi

ve g(e)yyikler hâl niteliğin ve arşlanuñ içi neye çıktuğun  
sordular.

Çavşan eyitdi: Bir su kuyusuna bıraktım kim Kârûn genci  
bigi doprağa yoduldu.

Pes geyikler kamusu anı içidüb şâdılık kıldular

iminlik ve râhatlık çemeninde caviân kıldular

işbu beyti sevinüb eyitdiler:

VI

Ve bunu dedi ve hemân ofuna düşdü. Şîr-i sâde-dil anuñ  
h<sup>V</sup>âb hargüşuna aldanub 'aķabinca revân oldu.

Hargüş şîri ber çâh-ı 'umîk kinârına getirdi

ki Âbı Gâyib şafâdan âyine-yi Çîn gibi şûretleri râst  
göstererdi

ve bî-habî-u-haṭâ şîfat-ı çihre-yi niṣârı dürrüst edâ iderdi

Beyt

Şafâda şöyle kim mihr-i münevvir  
Görünürdü aña nisbet-i mükeddir

Eyitdi ki:

Ey melik, haşm-ı nâ-be-kâr işbu pıñardadır.

Ben anıñ meḥâbetinden vehm iderim.

Eger melik beni yanına alursa, aña haşmın gösterim.

Şîr hargüşı düşünce alub,

çâha naṣar itdi.

Kendünñ ve ol hargüşuñ şûretin şuda görüb

hayâl itdi ki ol şîr-i bed-fa'âl ve ol hargüş dır ki  
kendüye irsâl olanıñdır.

Fi'l-hâl hargüşı koyub

kendüsün ol çâh âba atdı

ve bir iki çûṭa-ıyle nefs-i le'imîn zebâniye-yi zebâne-yi  
cahîme teslîm itdi.

Hargüş selâmetle dönüb vuhûşu keyfiyet-i hâldan haberdâr  
itdi.

Anlar daḡı vazâ'if şûkr-u-letâ'if ilâhîñi hayâm idüb

riyâṣ-ı emn-ü-selâmetde firâḡ-ı bâl-u-nisât-ı hâl-ıyle  
bî-çün-u-çirü idüb

bu beyti lâṣn-ı hâl-ıyle edâ eyldiler:

## Beyt

Va'llāhi şād olmazvenin, düşmen ölümüñün bayık  
Ölüm acısın dadısar uslu delü esrük ayık.  
Likin baña dirlik hōşī kim ister anı herkişi  
Düşmen yete bite işi ben görem, eydem: hōş layık.

## Beyt

Yeki şerbet-i āb oz pey-i bed-sigāl  
Bih ez 'ömr-i heftād-u-heştād sāl,

## Diğer

'Advdan intikām almak ne hoş-dur,  
Cihāndan kişi kām almak ne hoş-dur.

Bu meşelden ma'lūm olduki haşm ne kadar kavī-ü-zūr olursa  
kemīn gaflatdan aña zafar müyessir dir, ve düşmeniñ  
mu'ayyen ve naşiri ne kadar keşir olursa tīr-i gadriñ anda  
te'siri mutaşavver dir.

## VI

Pes Һargüş onufa düşdü ve şir 'akabınca revân oldu.

Һargüş şiri bir çāh-ı 'umîk kınārına getirdi

ki ābı gāyib şafādan şüretlerin gösterdi.

Eyitdi:

Һaşm-ı nā-be-kār işte bu pıñardadır.

Ben vehm iderim.

Beni yanıña olursun, Һaşmı saña göstereyim.

Şir Һargüşü düşünce alub

çāha nazar itdi.

Kendünü ve Һargüşün şüretin görüb

hayāl itdi ki ol şir-i bed-fa'āl ve ol Һargüş dir ki kendüye irsāl olanmışdır.

Fi'l-hāl Һargüşü yere koyub

kendüs'in ol çāh āba atdı,

bir iki gūta-ıyle canın zebānı-yi Cehenneme teslim itdi.  
Һargüş selā'etle dönüb vuhūgu keyfiyet-i hāldan haberdār itdi.

Cümlesi şük'r idüb ferāğat bi'llāh ol merçzārda rüzgār geçürdiler.

## VI

Тавşан арсланıñ оғуна düşerek

civārında kâ'in derin bir қutu başına getirdi

ve:

İşte, efendim, bu қuyu içindedir, diyüb de

арслан қуыуа бақınca тавşан дағи kendisini арсланıñ pençeleri arasından қуыуа 'arз eyldi. Öyle bir şüretde ki қuyu içindeki şüret-i ma'küseyi gören арслан gerek Һaşmı ve gerek kendi şikāri oradadır.

Занн-іyle hemān қуыуа atladı.

Garқ-u-telef olaraq

Һayvānlar дағи anıñ şirrinden emīn қaldılar.